

# THE HUGUENOTS;



OR,

REFORMED FRENCH CHURCH.

THEIR PRINCIPLES DELINEATED;  
THEIR CHARACTER ILLUSTRATED;  
THEIR SUFFERINGS AND SUCCESSES RE-  
CORDED.

IN THREE PARTS:

- I. THE HUGUENOT IN FRANCE, AT HOME.
- II. THE HUGUENOT DISPERSED IN EUROPE.
- III. THE HUGUENOT AT HOME IN AMERICA.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

BY

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## EDITOR'S NOTICE.

While this book was passing through the process of stereotyping, under the supervision of the venerable author, he was called from the toils and labors of the Church on earth to the glories and joys of the upper sanctuary. This sad event, which occurred on the 22nd of last November, delayed the publication of this interesting volume for several months. It is now presented to the public in the belief that it will be esteemed a valuable addition to our ecclesiastical literature, and that it will add to the reputation and will perpetuate the influence of its distinguished and lamented author.

September 1, 1870.

E. T. B.

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DEDICATION.

To those who love the development of great principles ; to those who admire patient continuance in well-doing and endurance of evil ;

TO ALL WHO ARE IN TROUBLE OR SORROW,  
this volume, written in times of great personal trouble and national distress, is respectfully dedicated

BY THE AUTHOR,  
WILLIAM HENRY FOOTE,  
ROMNEY, HAMPSHIRE COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA.

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# THE HUGUENOTS.

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ABOUT half a million of Frenchmen became refugees from the tyranny of Louis XIV., the most splendid monarch of the age. They left France, the latter part of the 17th century; and were received with open arms by the Protestant nations of Europe. Many came to the British provinces in America. Of these the larger portion found a home in South Carolina; some on the banks of the Trent, in North Carolina; a large number of families settled in Virginia, on the James and Rappahannock rivers; some on the banks of the Delaware, in Pennsylvania and New Jersey; and some in Maryland. The ancient colonies of French in New York, on Long Island, and along the North River, received important accessions; and Massachusetts welcomed them to Boston, as she had done the emigrants many years preceding, and to the neighbourhood of Worcester.

The flight of this body of people from France forms an epoch in the history of that nation, and in the annals of the Protestant church. The peculiarities of these refugees still remain, intermingled with the characteristics of the people of their adopted homes, and have aided in forming the character and influence of the common country.

The immediate cause of their flight is found in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and the preliminary movements for the twenty years preceding. To understand the Edict of Nantes, we must know some-



thing of that series of wars that resulted in putting the crown of France on the head of Henry of Navarre, the IV. of France, and the first of the Bourbons, and gave occasion for that Edict.

To understand the cause of these wars, we are carried back to the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, in August, 1572; and that bloody deed is explained in some good degree by the acts of the Reformed of France, in the year 1559, when the organization of their Church was completed. And the necessity for that organization is learned from the condition of France in the 15th century.

Beginning then with the revival of literature, science and religion, in France, as the head-springs, we may follow the stream of events, widening and deepening, as it flows through beauty and fertility, wilderness, rocks and mountains, through narrows, over cataracts, ever presenting something new and wonderful, something grand and glorious, explaining philosophy, metaphysics, and prophesy itself; we shall find ourselves instructed in the history of our race, and become more familiar with the ways of God to man.

The Reformed in France sought a purer and higher state of things than the world any where presented; and they sought successfully, if elevated morals, pure religion and comfort in living, are a success of earnest labours. Scattered over France, they were bound together, by their principles of religion, by the discipline of their church, and by their forms of worship. They never had from their king more than the ordinary protection of common citizens; and often were deprived of that: yet they flourished, by increase of numbers and by the influence of purity of life.

The name HUGUENOT is of political origin, and of Swiss extract, and probably of Genevan birth. It is

supposed to mean *Confederate*, and was applied to those who leagued together, or confederated, to preserve their civil liberties against the encroachments of the nobles, and the authorities of the Romish Church. It became a distinctive word or class-phrase, embracing a variety of sub-divisions; as men of different occupations and standing in life were leagued together for the support of their common civil liberties, or rights of a town, or city, or province: *the Leaguers, the Huguenots*.

This word *Huguenot* was not applied to the Reformed Church of France as a distinctive epithet till about the year 1560. About that time it became evident that the royal family of France, in the line of the Valois, was about to become extinct, with the children of Catherine de Medici, who were passing away and leaving no lawful heirs. A large, and ultimately the successful portion of the citizens of France was in favour of the Bourbon branch of the royal house, represented by the King of Navarre; and the crown actually came to Prince Henry, the grandchild of Margaret, sister of Francis I.

This political party had its greatest strength from the members of the Reformed French Church, and those who, not members in communion, favoured a reform in the Church of France; and its organization was modelled after the discipline of the Reformed Church, with its smaller meetings, its provincial assemblies, and its National Assembly. They maintained that the Bourbon branch was the lawful line, and that this line was most favourable to civil and religious liberty. The term, *Huguenot*, was applied to the whole political party; and as applied to the Reformed, as a religious body, it was intended as a term of reproach. It soon became a class word, and was nearly, or quite, synonymous with Reformer. This political organization was kept entirely

distinct from the religious, each having its own officers and leaders, and each its own appropriate duties. A Reformer in religion was, as a general thing, a Huguenot in politics, an advocate of the Bourbon branch of royalty. And a Huguenot in politics, a supporter of the Bourbon branch, if he had any religious prepossessions, was very generally a Reformer.

When Prince Henry of Navarre became Henry IV. of France, he issued the Edict of Nantes for the protection of the Huguenots, both politically and religiously.

Cardinal Richlieu, Prime Minister of Louis XIII., captured the city of Rochelle, the stronghold of the Huguenots, and about the year 1628 totally broke up their political organization, and forbid their political assemblies. The religious organization was left as the bond of union for the Reformed in religion, and the Huguenots in politics; and by means of the National Synod, there was a way of presenting their memorials and complaints to the King.

The National Synod, after an existence of more than one hundred years, was, in the year 1660, peremptorily forbidden to assemble. Encroachments were rapidly made on the privileges of the provincial synods, the colloquies, and the consistories. The bond of union at last for the Reformed, or Huguenots, was in the Bible, their Confession of Faith, their Book of Discipline, and their forms of worship.

The annulling of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV., was designed to put an end to the separate existence of the whole body, whether named Reformed, or Huguenot. By the action of the repeal, there was given the Huguenot a choice of three things: 1st. Abjuration of his religion; 2nd. Continued persecution to death; 3rd.

Exile. Some were destroyed ; some abjured, and about half a million went into exile.

For the existence of the facts recorded in this volume the author is in no way responsible. They are, however, verities that can be established by the best historic evidence. He is accountable for the selection of facts and for the manner of their grouping, and the impartiality and correctness of the quotations. To have given the authorities for all the facts gathered would have been burdensome to the reader, and generally useless. From the commencement of the reform till the exile from France, the selection has been made from printed documents. From the exile onward, unpublished manuscripts and traditions have freely lent their aid. For his taste and judgment in using these materials, the author is amenable to public opinion, and hopes a favourable decision. For the principal facts, however, the authority is given in the course of the narrative.

The circumstances in which these chapters were prepared, were full of trouble. The author had his share of them. But having, in the providence of God, an opportunity of gathering the facts here stated, he found a solace for many a sorrowful hour, in putting them in their present form. The principles and examples here presented may cheer other grieving hearts, and encourage the desponding.



# THE HUGUENOTS,

OR

## REFORMED FRENCH CHURCH.

### CHAPTER I.

The Revival of Religion and Literature in France previously to  
A. D. 1526—When the Court of France became opposed to  
Reform in Religion.

LUTHER, by his bold and successful attack upon the errors and misdoings of his age, won for himself a place in history, as the leader of the Revival of Religion and Literature and Morality in Germany, in the early part of the sixteenth century. While the darkness was yet brooding on the mind, and superstition dwelt in the heart of this young German, the true light had gilded the summit of the Alps, and was reflected to the soul of William Farel from the godly life, earnest devotion, amiable demeanour, and learned teaching of Lefevre, professor of Theology in the University of Paris.

The great discoveries of Columbus and Vasco De Gama, at the close of the fifteenth century, revealing the hitherto unknown Western World, and opening the long desired passage to the ancient East, presented

to men's thoughts vast subjects of contemplation; and to their passions and desires boundless means of enjoyment. Men of all nations were aroused to look for something greater and better than the existing state of the world, in any of the forms of society. In every department of knowledge there were improvements and additions, and many new foundations laid. The principles of politics and religion were submitted to a rigid examination. Changes began, and men desired more and greater. It was one of those eras in human events, when the course of things long flowing in a time-worn channel, begins to turn under the guidance of an unseen and mighty hand. Awaked by the shock men earnestly enquire the causes of the commotion, and the end of the disturbed state of things; and feel that they are swept along by a multitude of second causes, all guided by the mysterious and mighty providence of God.

Before the close of the fifteenth century, one day the amiable Professor Lefevre said to his young pupil Farel, "My dear William, God will renew the world; and you will see it." Dissatisfied with his own attainments in religion, and with the standard of knowledge and piety around him, he had begun to drink from the pure fountain of the Gospel of Christ in the original language, and was giving out liberal draughts to those attending upon his instructions.

France had often been agitated about the leading doctrine of spiritual exercises, faith—the faith that saves the soul. At short intervals through all the dark ages France heard the pure gospel in some of her provinces and cities. Among others the Wal-

denses had stood prominent in their testimony for the true faith ; and in the mountains of Savoy, and in the southern provinces, there were often gathered many converts who openly renounced the errors prevailing under the protection of the Romish church. And as often had the Romish church prevailed, by the strong arm of military power, to the temporal ruin and violent death of multitudes of those who sought a better way of living. The last bloody persecution preceding the revival of religion and literature in France, was under the direction of Pope Innocent VIII. On the 27th of April, 1487, that Pontiff issued his command for the extermination both of the descendants and converts, of the Waldenses along the slopes of the Dauphinese Alps, and in the south of France. An army of 18,000 men, accompanied by volunteers to share the plunder, drove those poor, but sincere Christians from their homes, and hunted them among the forests and rocks of the mountains. Remission of sins in full was promised to all assisting in this crusade. Those that lived near and refused to aid in the work of destruction, were denounced as heretics and accomplices. In the progress of the campaign, the King of Arragon lost his crown and his life, in the defence of his subjects ; and the counts of Thoulouse, Beziers and Carcassone, were butchered, with multitudes of their dependents. The crusade was continued, on the Italian side of the Alps, till the armed bands were wearied with cruelty and slaughter. France seemed to be enshrouded in the darkness of ignorance and self-indulgence. But all Europe was awaking ; and France felt a movement



throughout her provinces. The enquiry about the faith that saves the soul began again at the close of the fifteenth century, and never ceased, though persecution raged under the papal and the infidel powers with various degrees and forms of violence, from the burning of a solitary martyr, to the torrents of blood flowing from the guillotine.

When Francis I., son of Charles of Orleans, and Louis of Savoy, received the crown of France from his father-in-law, Louis XII., in 1515, learning was reviving in the kingdom. Lefevre taught the language of the New Testament in the course of his theological instructions in the University. He stood in the first rank of Professors. Erasmus reckoned him among the ablest scholars of the day. Francis offered himself the patron of learning and learned men. He desired to enlarge the bounds of literature and knowledge, for the glory of his court; and cared little by what means or persons, or on what subjects this enlargement took place. Untroubled by doubts and fears, religion in his eyes was an instrument of political advantage. France had a form of worship; the King would not trouble himself to put it down or change it. Had there been no form, it is not probable he would have made any effort to introduce one. In the early part of his reign, he had little care or thought about making or checking any changes that did not interfere with his interests or pleasures. Louis XII., his father-in-law, had endeavoured to limit the power of the Pope in France. The parliament sustained him in two positions: 1st, that he might enforce the acts of a General Council, against

the will of the Pope; that is, that the Pope is inferior to a General Council of the Church: 2d, that he might carry on war with the Pope acting as a King or temporal Sovereign; and that he owed obedience to the Pope and council only in things belonging to the spiritual concerns of the people. And on these matters he continued to exercise his supreme authority; for in passing through Daupheny in 1501, some of the nobility besought him to clear the province of Waldenses. He sent his Confessor Parvi to inquire into the condition of the accused. Hearing the report of his minister, Louis exclaimed, "They are better Christians than we are," and ordered the goods taken from them to be returned. His successor, Francis, came in military collision with the Pope, the very first year of his reign, and having gained a victory at Marignon, he entered into a treaty with the Pontiff. The Chancellor, Anthony Duprat, a man more rapacious than the King was dissolute, managed the negotiations. It was proposed that the position of his father concerning the Pope should be reversed, and the Pope be declared superior to a General Council; and that for this concession the Pope should yield to the King the right to fill all the bishopricks and livings of his kingdom as they became vacant. Francis consented, and said to the Chancellor, while waiting in Bolonga for Leo X. to ratify this concordat—"This is enough to damn us both." The agreement was confirmed, and the income of the large possessions of the Romish church in France was now in the gift of the King without dispute. He was, as far as he desired, head of the Church in France: The bishops and all im-

portant officers of the Church were appointed at the will of the King and his dissolute court. Francis was faithless to his father and to his people; and exalted the Pope in authority to elevate his own. The Pope gained the King; and his court and the Romish church became indissoluble.

Charles V. became King of Spain, with her vast dependencies in Europe and America, in 1516. He was firmly attached to the Romish doctrines and worship. In the election of Emperor in 1519 he prevailed against his rival, the King of France, and received the crown of the German empire. He aspired to be more completely the head of the Church, in Spain and Germany, than Francis was in his kingdom. He desired the papacy that he might unite the supreme spiritual authority of the Romish church over all the nations of Europe, with his two temporal crowns. His ambition grasped at a splendid but unattainable prize. Luther and his companions had nothing to offer in conciliation of the Emperor. They seemed to him to be labouring to despoil his desired prize of its beauty. Could his experience of the vanity of his desires, which came upon him in the latter part of his life, have enlightened his youth, he might have dealt less severely with the Reformers. He yielded them no protection, no favour. Two considerations, urged by Luther and his friends, gained the attention of the princes of Germany and their subjects: 1st, the short, simple proposition he put forth condemning the errors of the Romish church, and bringing out the true doctrine of the faith that saves the soul, which he urged always and every

where with vehemence ; 2d, the great domestic tyranny and political injustice exercised over Germany by the immense sums collected and carried to Rome, and particularly by the manner of their collection, the sale of indulgencies, which were all a cheat. The princes could not prove the propositions false ; and were willing to believe that the charge of tyranny and falsehood in the collections was true. The earnest man addressed himself to their conscience and their interest, their spiritual welfare and their national independence ; and he gained his cause against the Pope and the Emperor.

The King of France held in his kingdom, by various means, more complete dominion than the Emperor could ever obtain in his vast disjointed possessions. Francis, careless of the claims of religion that impeded the indulgence of his appetites, in possession of the revenues of the Church for the purchase or reward of favourites, and swaying the morals and religion of those around him, gave full license to his desires ; and by his example led his courtiers to very moderate views of the purity of religion, and to the free indulgence of their desires. But one person in the royal family or among the courtiers received in sincerity the Gospel of Christ as presented by those who promoted the Revival of Religion and Literature. The works presenting the new views of religion were freely circulated and read as works of literary merit, and applauded for the taste and talent exhibited, and held a place among the beautifully bound books of the court. The King's sister, Margaret, was moved by the great truths presented ; and early became a con-

vert. Her fine natural abilities had been sedulously cultivated by her father. She had been a companion of her brother Francis in all his studies; and shared the attention of the able teachers employed to prepare the Dauphin for his royal position. The course of education made him the patron of letters and the politest man in the politest court of Europe. It prepared her to run a race of solitary excellence as a King's daughter, a King's sister, a King's wife, a professor of practical piety, a patroness of literature, and a firm friend of the ministers of the new views of religion. In person lovely, in manners captivating, in disposition amiable, in morals pure; she moved like an angel of light in the midst of a licentious court, the admiration of all. Considering her position, young, the solitary believer in the faith that saves the soul, admired for the varied excellences of mind and heart, and accomplishments of form and manners, maintaining her faith in her varied positions, asserting her royal birth and privileges, and rejecting whatever she thought opposed to a heavenly life, she is evidently the most lovely woman of the age; and may be truly ranked among the most remarkable persons of the Reformation in Europe. Early impressed with religious things, she cultivated a spirit of devotion in which the superstitions of the age did not seem to mingle. From them, like her freethinking brother, she had always been free; like him, had she not been a true Christian, she would have been a freethinker in religious matters. The simplicity of the Gospel charmed her. For her brother Francis she cherished the tenderest affection; and in return always held a firm hold upon

his heart. In the early part of his reign he listened kindly to the sister he desired to gratify, as she strove with earnestness and affection to win him to the pure faith in Christ. The obstacle to his faith was, not his inclination to the forms and peculiar doctrines of the Romish church, but his disinclination to adopt the pure life required by the Gospel, as explained by his sister and the Reformers. He loved his pure sister, and held to his dissolute life. He permitted her to associate with the Reformers, as members of her household; and to embrace and defend their doctrines, as private opinions of a literary and metaphysical nature, that became the spirit of the age, and the court of a patron of all improvements. His inner life was entirely unaffected by their pure doctrines and consistent lives.

For a time Margaret found an associate in Philiberta, of Savoy, a young sister of her mother. In confirmation of the concordat with Leo X., Francis had given her, in marriage, to Julian the Magnificent, brother of the Pope, and commander of his army. She was left a widow at eighteen. Attached to Margaret, she listened to the consolations of the new faith, and in them found comfort. Sincerely devout, pure in her morals and her habits, she read, with increasing interest, the evangelical writings circulated by the Reformers at Meaux. "I have," says Margaret, "all the tracts you have sent me, of which my aunt of Nemours has her part, and I will forward her the last, for she is at Savoy, at her brother's wedding, which is no light loss to me, wherefore I beseech you to have pity on my loneliness." This lady passed away in

early life, dying in the year 1524 at the age of twenty-six, favouring a reform in the doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome. The establishment of a separate communion was thought of by few; Reformation was desired by many.

The carelessness of Francis on matters of religion left his kingdom open to the progress of the revival in religion and literature which in France were indissolubly united. Briconnet, Bishop of Meaux, preached the doctrine of salvation, full and free, by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ alone. It made rapid progress in the parishes of his diocese. From Meaux the printed tracts and living ministers went abroad wherever they found a welcome; and for a time the word of God had free course, and multitudes professed faith in the Lord Jesus. In the south of France where the doctrines of the Waldenses and their cruel sufferings were not forgotten, tracts and the living ministers carried the knowledge of salvation by faith, and multitudes gave a welcome reception.

This liberty enjoyed in France induced Luther, in the midst of his troubles in Germany, to contemplate a temporary residence in the dominions of the French King.

Lefevre translated the Gospels and the Epistles of the New Testament from the original Greek into French, and published them in the months of October and November 1522. This translation was republished at Meaux, at the house of Colin, in 1524; and a French translation of the Psalms was added in 1525. These sacred books were widely circulated in France. Read in families and in private closets, they were

their own expositors. Short treatises by the Reformers in France, Switzerland and Germany were eagerly read; and the cry for a reformation in the church was heard from every quarter. A copy of the Epistles of Paul, splendidly illuminated, was sent by the Bishop of Meaux to Margaret, as a present to her brother the King. "They are," wrote the bishop, "a royal dish, fattening without corruption, and healing all manner of sickness. The more we taste them the more we hunger after them, with desire unsatiable and that never clogs." Francis received the present as the production of a learned Frenchman, and an evidence of the advancement of literature in his kingdom. There is no evidence that he gave the Epistles more than a very cursory perusal. Michael Arande was at that time in Paris translating portions of the Scripture for the King's mother, which she received, like her son, as a compliment to her taste, and the learning of the court.

The Romish priesthood became alarmed. The forms and ceremonies of their Church were in danger. Lefevre had been preaching at Meaux—that "kings, princes, nobles, people, all nations, should think of and aspire after Christ alone. Every priest should resemble that archangel whom John saw in the apocalypse, flying through the air holding the everlasting gospel in his hand and carrying it to every people and nation and tongue. Come ye pontiffs, come ye kings, come ye generous hearts, the word of God is all-sufficient." One day, in the hearing of the papal partisans, he expressed his joyful anticipations—"The gospel is already gaining the hearts of the great, and of the



people ; and in a short time, spreading over all France, it will every where throw down the inventions of men." His friends present shared in the enthusiasm of the old man. Roma, a monk, started up and exclaimed: "Then I and all the other religionists will preach a crusade ; we will raise the people ; and if the King permits the preaching of your Gospel, we will expel him from his kingdom by his own subjects." The monks present applauded.

The gathering discontent at the propagation of the doctrine of salvation by faith in Christ alone, and of the sufficiency of the Scriptures, now broke out. These monks went from house to house, where they could find entrance, and declared—"These new teachers are heretics ; they are attacking the holiest observances, and the most sacred mysteries of the Church. Crush the heresy, or the pestilence, which is already desolating the city of Meaux, will spread over the whole kingdom." Unable to meet the question of reform by argument and appeal to the Bible, the monks alarmed the prejudices of the people, aroused their passions, and thus awakened the fears of the King and nobles for the political welfare of the kingdom. Noel Beda, of the Sorbonne, was most vehement in opposing the doctrines of Justification by faith alone, and the sufficiency of the Scriptures, without the decrees of councils ; and was successful in exciting public uneasiness about the immediate influence and ultimate tendency of these important doctrines.

Francis was fond of listening to literary discussions, and promoted them for his amusement and improve-

ment. These discussions took a theological turn, and became practical. The partisans of the Romish church urged the suspicious tendency of the new doctrines; that they implied revolution, and consequently endangered his crown; that Lefevre, and Farel, and the Bishop of Meaux taught doctrines fraught with danger to the political welfare of France. While Francis smiled contemptuously on a charge of heresy brought against Lefevre for teaching that—"there were three Marys mentioned in the Gospels"—and ordered it to be dismissed, he expressed openly and strongly his fears that the new teachers were endangering his private enjoyments, and his powers as a King; and even the crown itself. The teachers thought it advisable to withdraw from the court, first to Meaux, and then to Switzerland, and the Netherlands, and then to Germany. The Bishop of Meaux, pressed hard by the monks and the parliament of Paris, made retraction of the doctrines of reform, and promised to inculcate the doctrines of Rome.

After the learned men had mostly withdrawn from France, the King permitted some persons, in the humbler conditions of life, to be tried by the Ecclesiastical courts, for their belief in the doctrines of Justification by faith in Christ alone; and the sufficiency of the Scriptures without the decrees of councils; and these being condemned, he suffered them to be burned. But while Le Clerc, the wool-comber, was consigned to the flames, Berquin, a gentleman of the court, "the most learned of the nobles," accused of writing and speaking against the doctrines and forms of Rome, was rescued by the authority of the

King, who sent an officer for him with orders to break the doors of the Ecclesiastical prison if he were not delivered at his demand. The nobles had complained that the attack on Berquin "was aimed at literature, true religion, the nobility, chivalry ; nay, at the crown itself." "Of what is he accused?" said the King. "Of blaming the custom of invoking the Virgin in place of the Holy Ghost. But Erasmus does the same." Briconnet appeared before the Council and was acquitted. The King and the nobility were willing to make distinction between the nobility and the common people, in the matters of literature and religion. The nobility might exercise their discretion, but the common people must confine themselves to their various callings in life, or suffer the pains and penalties of the Church of Rome, for meddling with things of religion too deep for them, and foreign to their calling. It was their duty to be instructed by the priests, and to believe as they were taught.

The Bishop of Meaux, though of the nobility, was left as an officer of the Church of Rome to answer to her courts for his doctrines and his conduct. They condemned his course ; and he recanted to save his life, which he saw was in danger. Had he remained firm to his convictions there would have been a trial of the King, whether he would have suffered a noble to be burnt for conscience' sake, or would have proclaimed freedom of discussion and belief for the Ecclesiastics who were of noble blood. His firmness would have decided a great question : If the King maintained the Bishop, then there must be a reform in the Church ; if he abandoned him, and the eccle-

siastical court had proceeded in her course, (to shed his blood,) then the wide-spread infidelity of the kingdom, as well as all the reformed, would have cried out against Rome as the Mother of Abominations. The Bishop's courage failed him, and he recanted what he had professed. This failure of Briconnet to meet the crisis boldly, for the sake of the Church and of the kingdom at large, was a grief to Margaret, to the reformed in France and Germany, to many of the nobles who desired freedom of thought, and a perpetual sorrow to himself. He could not prosecute the blessed work of preaching salvation by the faith of Christ alone; and he lived on without the confidence of either of the two great parties dividing France and all Europe.

Switzerland and Germany now received from France refugees whose influence has been felt by succeeding ages. Farel, with many others, found a home at Basle, then the Athens of Switzerland, the chosen home of Erasmus, the most literary man of his age, the residence of the printer Fredonius, who laid all Europe under obligations for works of literature and theology. The people were delighted to find in the Frenchman from Paris so much learning and piety. "He is strong enough," said they, "to destroy the whole Sorbonne single handed." The boldness and occasional vehemence of Farel delighted them as much as the meekness and mildness of their own minister, Ecolampadius. "O my dear Farel," said the venerable minister of Basle, "I hope the Lord will make our friendship immortal; and our joy will only be greater when we shall be united at Christ's

right hand." "On every side," said Farel, "men are springing up who devote all their powers and their lives to extend Christ's kingdom as widely as possible." "The faction," wrote Erasmus, "is spreading daily, and penetrating Savoy, Lorraine, and France."

The city of Lyons, that had four hundred years before, heard the Gospel from Peter Waldo, became the centre of the reformed in France, after Paris had driven them from her streets. A merchant named Vaugus, and a gentleman named Anthony Blet, took the lead in religious matters. Michael de Arande, coming here in the train of Margaret, preached publicly and boldly the word of God. Crowds assembled to hear the court preacher. Another person in her train was of great use by his devotedness and prudence, Anthony Papillon, the first in France for his knowledge of the Gospel, head master of requests for the Dauphin, and a member of the great council. These men, not confining themselves to the city, encouraged all in the surrounding provinces, who confessed Christ; and proclaimed the Gospel in places where it had never before been heard. In 1524 Michael Arande visited Macon, on the Soane, and obtained permission to preach in that city, afterwards so famous for its sufferings for the Gospel. Du Blet was a bond of union between these places and Basle, and the minister Farel. The Gospels and Epistles translated by Lefevre and printed in parcels, were revised by him, and printed at Basle in abundance, by funds from Lyons and Meaux and Metz. Colporteurs went through Franche Comte, Lorraine, Burgundy, and places adjoining, with the New Testament

in French; going from town to town, village to village, and house to house, offering the books at a cheap rate; and tracts on the important doctrines of the Gospel were prepared and sent by Farel, from his mountain home, to various parts of France, in the more northern provinces.

In Grenoble the Gospel had its advocates, its success, and its opposition. The pastor Seville was much beloved. The people listened as he proclaimed faith in Christ, and believed. Friar Maigret, a Dominican, became a convert; and for his boldness in proclaiming the faith in Christ, the officers of the Romish church sought to arrest him. He fled to Lyons. An effort was then made to arrest the pastor Seville himself. The friends of Reformation made great efforts to prevent it. Margaret besought her brother Francis to interfere. Many distinguished persons interceded for him; among others the King's advocate. With difficulty he was saved from the dungeons, on condition that he should be silent on the subject of Reform. The King was slow to interfere for one not a noble like Berquin, or a learned man like Lefevre; and unwilling to intercede for an Ecclesiastic offending the rules or officers of his order; even nobles that took orders in the Romish church, might abide by the decisions of that Church. The King designed to be a patron of literature, and not of reform in religion. Papillon and Du Blet visited Grenoble at this juncture, and proposed to Seville to go to Lyons, and preach there with Arande and Maigret. He assented. Anemond wrote to Farel: "Seville is free, and will preach the Lent sermons at St. Paul's in Lyons." In

preparation for the Lent sermons, Maigret preached with great boldness, "The mystery of Godliness, God manifest in the flesh," and justification by faith without works. He was arrested; and, notwithstanding the protection of the King's sister, Margaret, was dragged through the streets and thrown into prison.

It was now evident that the King was annoyed by the efforts to reform the Romish church in France. His mind was filled with apprehensions that the success of the Reformers would interfere with his rights and pleasures, and expectations as a King. Margaret remained true to the faith.

An event occurred in the latter part of the year 1524, which gave to Margaret some hope of better things for her brother, and for those who wished a reform in the Romish church. A young and beloved daughter of Francis suddenly died. The danger of the child had been concealed from him. He dreamed that she said to him, "Farewell, my King; I am going to Paradise." His grief at her death was great. He wrote to his sister, "I would rather die than desire to have her in this world contrary to the will of God, whose name be blessed." This pious expression affected his sister, and remained in her memory to cherish a hope that a good work had begun in the heart of her brother.

Another event occurred in the month of January 1525, — the loss of the battle of Pavia, which filled the court and the kingdom with mourning; and in its consequences destroyed all hopes of a religious reform in the Romish church in France. The army of France was routed, and her King was taken pri-

soner by the army of the Emperor Charles V. Charles, Duke de Alencon, the husband of Margaret, to whom she was married in 1509, in her seventeenth year, received a wound in the battle, which proved fatal in a few days. Francis was a captive and Margaret a widow. Francis writes to his mother, Louisa of Savoy, the Queen regent, "All is lost, but our honour." Margaret lifted her heart to God, that His grace might abound in her loss.

Anxious for the religious welfare of her brother, Margaret sends to Montmorency, a companion of his imprisonment, her copy of the Epistles of Paul, with a letter, desiring him to urge the King to read them.

"My dear cousin: There is a certain very devout hermit, who for three years past has been urging a man whom I know, to pray God for the King, which he has done; and he is assured that if it pleases the King by way of devotion, daily, when in his closet, to read the Epistles of St. Paul, he will be delivered to the glory of God; for he promises in his gospel that whosoever loveth the truth, the truth shall make him free. And for as much as I think he has them not, I send you mine, begging you to entreat him, on my part, that he will read them; and I firmly believe that the Holy Ghost, which abideth in the letter, will do by him as great things, as He has done by those who wrote them; for God is not less powerful or good than He has been, and His promises never deceive. He has humbled you by captivity; but He has not forsaken you, giving you patience and hope in His goodness, which is always accompanied by consolation; and a more perfect knowledge of Him,



which I am sure is better than the King ever knows, having his mind less at liberty on account of the imprisonment of the body.

Your Cousin,

MARGARET."

Whether Montmorency or the King read the Epistles can never be known. The amiable Margaret performed her duty and relieved her own grief, and disclosed the fountain from which she drew her consolation. Margaret went to Spain, by permission of Charles V., to comfort her brother in his confinement; and by her attentions saved his life; and by her representations to the Emperor, procured his liberty sooner than the Emperor's court designed.

The Queen regent, Louisa of Savoy, the mother of Francis and Margaret, wrote immediately to the Pope, to gain his assistance against the Emperor. To gain his favour, she expressed her readiness to know his pleasure concerning the heretics in France. Beda, and his associates of the University, were busy conversing, haranguing, lamenting, threatening, and publishing exciting tracts against the reformed and their leaders. "When I see," said Beda, "these three men, Lefevre, Erasmus and Luther, in other respects endowed with so penetrating a genius, uniting and conspiring against meritorious works, and resting all the weight of salvation on faith alone, I am no longer astonished that thousands of men, seduced by these doctrines, have learned to say, 'Why should I fast and mortify my body?' Let us banish from France these hateful doctrines of Grace. This neglect of good works is a fatal delusion from the devil."

The Queen regent also wrote to the Sorbonne on the same subject, to avert the charge of Beda and his associates, that she was favouring the new doctrines. The Pope listened to the cry of these men about heresy, and welcomed the application for help from the Queen against the Emperor, already too strong for the Roman Pontiff. Forthwith means were in operation to extirpate, if possible, heresy from France. This union of the court of Rome and the court of France forms an epoch in the history of the kingdom, in political and ecclesiastical matters. In reply to the request of the Queen regent, the Pope gave immediate orders for the introduction of the Inquisition into the religious affairs of the kingdom; and addressed the parliament on the subject. The parliament addressed the Regent: "Heresy has raised its head among us, and the King, by neglecting to bring the heretics to the scaffold, has drawn down the wrath of heaven upon the nation." The parliament called upon the Bishop of Paris and the priests to appoint a commission to conduct the trial of those tainted with Lutheran doctrine. The Pope sent his brief, on the 20th of May 1525, approving the commission, consisting of Philip Pot, President of Requests, Andrew Verjus, Counsellor, and William Ducherne and Nicholas Le Clerc, Doctors of Divinity. Writing to the Sorbonne, the Queen regent said: "The damnable heresy of Luther is every day gaining new adherents." Beda replied: "All the writings of the heretics should be prohibited by a royal proclamation; and if this means does not suffice, we must use force and constraint against the persons of these false doc-

tors; for those who resist the light must be subdued by torture and by terror.”

The work began. Beda and his associates were busy. Berquin was again arrested and thrown into prison. Margaret immediately appealed, in his favour, to her brother Francis. The Bishop of Meaux was again arraigned. No one spoke to the King for him. His want of brave consistency had left him without friends among the Romanists, whom he had opposed; and the Reformed, whom he, partially at least, had renounced. He was brought before the Commission of the Inquisition, accused of favouring the Lutheran doctrines, as the doctrines of the Reformed in France were now called to give them a foreign air, and make them peculiarly odious; and 2d, of having been insincere in his former reconciliation with the Church; and 3d, of doing things as Bishop prejudicial to the Church. On the 3d of October 1525, the parliament having ordered the arrest of all against whom information had been lodged, decreed particularly that the Bishop of Meaux should be interrogated by Menager and Verjus, Counsellors of the Court. A famous advocate, John Bochart, declared before parliament that, “Neither the Bishop of Meaux, or any private individual, may raise his head, or open his mouth against the faculty of the Sorbonne; nor is the faculty called upon to enter into discussion, or produce and set forth its reasons before the said bishop who ought not to resist the wisdom of that holy society, which should be regarded as aided of God.” The Bishop was amazed. He asked the privilege of appearing before parliament in person.

On the 25th of October, the parliament refused the request. His condemnation was therefore secured. The Ecclesiastics, believing that his retraction would be of more service than his death, used great persuasions to secure his recantation. They said he might retain his private opinions; he was required only to submit to the established order of the Church; that they were, like himself, anxious for a reform; and that a reform was going on insensibly. Terrified at the near prospect of a terrible death, he recanted. The council held an examination of him, and pronounced him vindicated of the crimes charged. He submitted to penance; and before a synod of his diocese, condemned Luther's books, and retracted all he had taught contrary to the doctrines of the Church of Rome. In about eight years he died, commending, in his will, his soul to the Virgin Mary, and desiring twelve hundred masses be said for the repose of his soul.

Lefevre escaped the search of the Commission by flight to Strasburg. Other Frenchmen followed his example. A church was gathered there, to which Flavel often ministered. Lefevre became known as the meek old Frenchman, whom the children loved.

Beda attacked Erasmus from the press, and endeavoured to bring the renowned Dutchman into disgrace. He published charges so great, that if a few had been true, the scholar of Middleburg must have been an outcast. Erasmus appealed to Charles V: "Renowned Emperor, Certain persons, under pretence of religion, are raising a horrible outcry against me. I am fighting under your banners and those of Jesus

Christ. May your wisdom and power restore peace to the Christian world." He was protected by the Emperor.

In Lorraine a victim was found. The pastor Schenk had preached salvation by faith alone, with success. He was arrested. Duke Anthony, surnamed the Good, who thought it enough for a man to know his "Pater and his Ave," attended the trial. Of the proceedings he understood not a word, they being conducted in Latin. Provoked at the self-possession of the accused, and the apparent vigor of the defence, he arose to withdraw, saying, "He denies the mass; let them proceed to execution." The pastor was immediately condemned to the fire. Raising his eyes to heaven, he exclaimed, "I was glad when they said unto me, let us go into the house of the Lord." On the 19th of August 1525, the city of Nancy was aroused by the tolling of the bells. Crowds assembled to witness the death of a heretic. The pastor looked on the burning of his books. He refused to retract, saying, "It is Thou, O God, who hast called me; and Thou wilt give me strength to the end." As he mounted the pile he commenced repeating the 51st Psalm: "Have mercy upon me, O Lord, according to Thy loving kindness;" and continued reciting the words of David, till his voice was stifled by the smoke and flames.

The fires were kindled in Paris. A youth by the name of Pavanne had been induced in 1524 to recant his profession of salvation by faith in Christ alone. He became unhappy, and renewed his profession. He was condemned in 1525 to the flames. On his

trial, meek, kind, gentle, self-possessed, he failed to gain friends by his courage and candour. Having made his confession and profession, he died on the pile erected for him in the Gréve, rejoicing; and by his faith and comfort, strengthened many believers in Paris.

A person, whose name is not given, known as "The poor hermit of Livry," became a believer in Christ as the alone Saviour by faith. He spoke freely to his visitors about Christ and His salvation. In his visits to the villages, and the peasants' dwellings in the forest, he offered the free and full salvation of the Lord. Seized, carried to Paris, thrown into prison and tried, he was condemned to perish by "the slow fire." The great bell of Notre Dame tolled. Crowds assembled in front around the pile. The crucifix was presented to the hermit. Calm, firm, collected, he declared, his hope was in the Lord Christ alone, and that his pardon was from God. The Doctors of the Sorbonne cried out, "He is damned; they are leading him to hell fire." The bell ceased to toll. The last question was put. His last answer, "I will die in the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ." The fire that consumed him burned slowly.

In the south of France there were burnings. That excellent man, Anthony Du Blet, sunk under the persecution: and had for his companion, Francis Maulin. The sudden death of Anthony Papillon was attributed to violence. These were in the higher ranks of life. The community saw that all ranks of life, from the Bishop of Meaux and Berquin, to the hermit of Livry, were within the grasp of the Inqui-

sition and its officers. The court rejected the Reform of the Church of Rome; and persecution unto death was decreed against those who professed faith in Christ alone for salvation; and received the Bible as their only guide in religion, and sought the reform of the Church. Francis permitted, if he did not order this persecution.

## CHAPTER II.

From the year 1526, when Francis I. returned from captivity, to the year 1559, when the National Synod was formed.

THE peculiar interest of a third part of the sixteenth century, extending from 1526 to 1559, is in the fact, that literature, science and religion having found their long lost, yet true foundation, began to erect glorious ever-during fabrics slowly, yet surely, more and more admirable as the work advanced, till the top stone shall be laid, "with shoutings, grace, grace unto it." Literature was exercising herself in portraying some important subject in fitting language. The moral, physical, mental and spiritual world was searched in its varied departments for themes that might interest and captivate. Thoughts, feelings, actions and principles, of high import, stood before men in words, like the ancient Greek statues chiseled from the rock of exceeding excellence, understood, felt and appreciated. Science discovered her true foundation to be the laws of nature; laws given to the natural world by Him that made it, laws given to govern the world till it shall cease to exist; and was assiduously and patiently searching for them, undiscouraged by mistakes and failures. Men were watching the progress of things in the natural world to discover the process of the wonderful skill by which they were



wrought. And now after the passage of three centuries we admire the progress of true science in unfolding the mysteries concealed, but never hidden from mortal view. Religion sought and found her long lost foundation in the nature of man, and of the God that made him, and in those relations existing between them as explained in the revelation God made to man. Literature could easily find her materials; she had only to open her eyes. Science must call her powers, and wait and labour, and labour and wait, and catch by little and little the truth she searched for; she must dig deep in the mines; she must follow patiently the indications that lead to the rich treasure-houses.

Religion considers man and God; man for time in preparation for eternity; and God, who is and was, and is to come, the Almighty. If the blessings of religion could be delayed like the advantages of the discoveries of science, without injury to those fleeting generations of men, that must pass to their eternity while the search for truth is going on, then religion, like science, might have her required ages to find out God to perfection, and define the relations of man to his Maker and Redeemer and Judge. But the life of man passes in haste, and the blessings that religion gives him, must be bestowed in that rapidly passing life. And God in mercy has spoken plain, life-giving words, announcing the relations between Him and the whole race of men, and explaining the great truths men must know in order to salvation. Man is weak and unwise; God is strong, and wise, and merciful, and good, and has given to man an unfailling

guide to lead him to Christ, who is the way, the truth, and the life, without whom no man comes to the Father. Religion then rests on the sufficiency of the revealed will of God, and builds all the hopes of men on God's written, unchanged and unchanging promises, open for the perusal of all men. And the advance she has made, in three centuries, shows the weakness and folly of man, and the kindness and mercy of God.

That part of the sixteenth century, from 1526 to 1559, in its strifes, commotions, revolutions, and bloody campaigns, embraces themes of history; and volumes have been written to convey to posterity the designs and doings of the leading men in Europe. The events that came clustering and confounding by their import, gave increased vigor to the exertions of religion and science and literature. The rubbish of ages was cleared away. Charles V. held the kingdom of Spain, the Netherlands, the great dependencies in America, together with the crown of the Germanic empire; and repelled the invasion of the Turks, under which Europe had been dishonoured, with that spirit and bearing of tyranny that wrung from his Protestant subjects the sad exclamation—" 'Twere easier to serve the Grand Turk than the Emperor!" He put forth his mightiest efforts against the reform in Germany; and, signally failing, resigned his crown, and died in retirement.

Henry VIII., the brave King of England, well informed of the extent of his prerogative, and most resolute in its defence, appealed to the Pope in a matter, which he said affected his conscience, and, of

course, his religion; and complained that the head of the Romish church did not mete out to him even-handed justice, with other potentates, in the religious difficulty, nor evenhanded policy in the political aspect of the case. He listened readily to the suggestions that the Church in his dominions was competent to decide upon matters of conscience, under his supervision, and, provided learned men in other parts coincided in opinion. Many that believed the King's passions and self-will had much to do with the case the King had proposed to the Pope, united in the conclusion that the Church in England was competent to transact its proper business of discipline within the realms of the King. Henry severed the connexions of the Church of England with Rome, and asserted and maintained his right to be the head of the English Church in temporals, and its adviser and defender in spirituals; and carried the reform, as far as agreed with his ideas of his prerogative as King, irrespective of any form or discipline of the Church in other nations. Proceeding boldly and definitely, he made an impression on the minds of Englishmen, and the heart of the Church, that the Pope has never been able to eradicate, or countervail; and then passed, after his legally murdered wives, to meet his reward, leaving the kingdom and Church of England to become, in the opinion of an intelligent Frenchman, "the bulwark of Protestantism in Europe," an epithet in which that kingdom and that Church glory.

The Pope—and there were four individuals that held that office at Rome during the proposed period, (Clement VII., Paul III., Julius III. and Paul IV.)—the

Pope went on claiming to be the head of the Church, and of course the arbiter of nations, promising, and even calling a council to satisfy the demands of Europe, yet heartily opposing councils when they could be avoided; and finally rendering null and void the one called to meet at Trent; sometimes acknowledging there was a necessity for a reform in some things, and yet always considering those somethings as matters under the cognizance of existing officers and laws of the Romish church, and to be reformed by them; and declining to consider, as subjects of reform, those articles and forms of the Church, which all the Reformers exclaimed against as errors and wrong doings; such as the Mass, in pretending to present the body, the very body of Jesus Christ, to the communicants in the sacrament, the auricular confessions, purgatory, the Invocation of the Saints and the Virgin; with the various rites and ceremonies connected therewith, especially indulgencies offered as a traffic, to be bought and sold; and finally, forcing the nations of Europe to understand that the head of the Romish church did not intend to acknowledge any reform as actually necessary, or permit any to be made in any important article or form of worship; and that the Reformers must abide in the Romish church as it was, or depart from it, and associate themselves as a Christian body, in any way that they chose, but in all ways and in all their doings, to be reckoned and treated as heretics that ought to expect no mercy from man or God. The history of the Emperor, and the King, and the Pope, in these years, has been recorded in a library of volumes, of instruction, entertainment and warn-

ing and gloomy records, forming in the grouping a sombre back ground for the development of the spirit and principles and actions of the *Reformed French Church*.

Francis I., the King of France, who held the temporal welfare of the Reformed French, politically, in his hand, emulated Charles V. in his diplomacy, and Henry VIII. in his bravery and lasciviousness. Frequent communications passed between him and the King of England, with mutual encouragement to resist the Emperor in his political projects, and his aspirations to be Pope or to govern the Pope; and each to be head of the church in his own dominions. Francis could not plead conscience, like Henry, in seeking the indulgence of his desires; he had succeeded in bringing his court to that easy conscience, that the taste and will of the king reigned paramount in morals and social intercourse. To resist the King in political matters, was treason; in social matters it was want of refinement and taste, and of course equivalent to banishment from the highest circles. Perceiving that the Emperor was evidently gaining influence over the Pope, Francis proposed to Clement VII. an alliance between his son Henry and the Pope's young niece, Catherine de Medici. The Pope was incredulous.

Francis, in 1530, had married Elleleanor, sister of the Emperor, according to the treaty that released him from captivity in Spain, and that now he should offer to unite the royal family of France with the family of the rich merchant of Florence, while the very offer gratified the Pope, its magnitude forbid him to con-

sider it as an offer in good faith. The negotiations were protracted. The Pope knew that Francis used religion as a foil in politics, and as an allurements in social life, while at heart he believed nothing of pure revelation. To convince the Pope, or persuade him to be deceived, and that he and the Queen mother were earnest Catholics, Francis had, in 1526, permitted Denis de Reux to be burnt at Meaux, under the charge of having said—"the mass destroyed the efficacy of Christ's death." And, in 1527, the learned and noble Berquin was the third time seized and imprisoned; and, after defending himself most manfully as a true citizen and Christian man, demanding justice against his persecutors, was condemned to death by fire. At the place of execution, in consideration of civil rank, the privilege of being strangled before he was committed to the flames, was granted him. Before being strangled he employed the short space allowed him to speak, in boldly affirming his full belief in the completeness of the Bible for our instruction; that a sinner can be saved only by faith in Christ, and in Christ alone; and his belief that the Romish Church needed a reformation. His intrepid conduct affected the priest who had attended him. He pretended he had hopes of converting him to Romanism; and he went away saying, with an air and manner that left his meaning doubtful, "no better Christian has died for a hundred years." And now he pressed upon the Pope the advantages of an alliance between his niece, Catherine, and Henry the presumptive heir of the throne of France. And, to the astonishment of all crowned heads in Europe, the marriage actually took

place in October, 1533, at Marseilles, in France, the Pope officiating, and promising to give her as a dowry some territory in Italy, coveted by Francis. And having, before he sailed for France, issued his bull of excommunication against Henry VIII., of England, while in Marseilles he issued his bull of excommunication against all heretics. This was done with the consent, if not the approbation, of the King of France, but with the earnest remonstrance of the minister Du Bellay.

Having, as he supposed, secured the friendship of the Pope, Francis hastened to meet the Duke of Wurttemberg in Lorraine, at Bar le Duc, to conclude a treaty to put him in possession of his hereditary dominions, kept from him by Charles V. By this treaty he appeared the friend of the German Protestants, and weakened the hands of his great rival Charles V. The Pope's bull about the king of England, and the bull about the heretics in France filled the partisans of the Romish church with joy and new courage to persecute and destroy the Reformers. The King returned to his pleasures in the heart of his dominions rejoicing in the success of his diplomacy, and more resolved that the religion he preferred should be the religion of France; and that religion of his choice was the religion of the Pope.

While these negotiations were in progress, Margaret of Navarre published, in 1533, at Alencon, by Simon Dubois, a volume of poetry entitled "*The Mirror of the Sinful Soul*, in which she discovers her faults and sins, as also the grace and blessings bestowed on her by Jesus Christ her Spouse." This little work

was admired for its genius and piety, and is worthy of preservation for its beautiful delineation of Christian experience. Encouraged by its usefulness, she published another edition at Paris. The Sorbonne with Beda at its head, seized upon the book and rejoiced that now there was proof that the Queen of Navarre was a heretic; not “dumb proof, nor half proof, but literal, clear, complete proof.” According to the *Mirror*, true religion is summed up in “Man’s sin and God’s grace”—“that what man needs is to have his sins remitted and wholly pardoned in consequence of Christ’s death; and when by faith he has found assurance of this pardon, he enjoys peace.” “What!” exclaimed Beda, “no more auricular confessions, indulgence, penance, and works of charity!”

Besides this volume of poetry, Margaret had written and kept a manuscript volume of Tales, in which she tells, with the greatest simplicity, things she saw and heard in some of her excursions and journeyings in early life; portraying in prominent graphic character and natural colours, the shameless conduct and infamous principles of the priests and monks, and partisans of the Romish church. This volume was not published till after her death: her daughter gave it to the public. But about the time of the publication of her poetry, some leaves of this manuscript had been privately copied and circulated without her consent. There was a statement of things which this noble woman knew to be true, which would be anywhere a justification for her discarding such priests and monks, and a rejection of a system of religion that tolerated such shameless abuses. Her pictures were more de-



structive to the character and influence of the priests, than the tales of Erasmus read with so much glee by boys learning the Latin language a generation past.

A great cry was raised; and the Romish pulpits in Paris rang with denunciations and ridicule of the Queen of Navarre. The Sorbonne, after deliberation, determined that *The Mirror of the Sinful Soul* be put on the list of prohibited books. The College went further, and composed a drama, satyrizing the Queen, and had it publicly performed. The hope was that the Queen would be ruined in the eyes of her brother, and be banished to the mountains of Bearne. The Grand Master, Montmorency, joined in the efforts for her ruin: and went so far as to say to the King, "It is true, sire, that if you wish to extirpate the heretics, you must begin with the Queen of Navarre." "No more about that," said Francis; "my sister is too fond of me to take up with any religion that will injure my kingdom." And the Superior of the grey friars, Berry, who advised that "the Queen of Navarre should be sown up in a sack and thrown into the river." The King ordered him to be sown in a sack and suffer the proposed punishment. He was saved only by the entreaties of the injured Queen.

Francis was not in Paris. His sister, by letter, avowed herself the author of the *Mirror of the Sinful Soul*; and insisted she had not attacked the doctrines of the Church. In conclusion the Sorbonne were compelled to withdraw their censure of the Queen's book. This took place just before the wedding of the Pope's niece with the King's son. The

next month after the marriage, the Sorbonne, encouraged by the Pope's bull, at Marseilles complained of their rector, Cap, to the parliament of Paris; and he escaped arrest by flight; and Calvin was compelled to escape through the window of his room and flee with him.

When Francis was with his sister, or could come under her influence, he protected the reform; when away from her, or under the influence of Dupont, he manifested a deep-rooted hatred to the whole cause of reform as opposed to the principles on which he desired to rule France. In the course of the year 1534, events took place which led to the overthrow of the great hopes of a reform in the French Church. During the summer the pious people of Paris discussed, in their private meetings, the perils of their condition, and what was to be attempted for their safety. Should they still hope for a reform, such as Melancthon proposed and Queen Margaret was labouring for, a reform of the Church of Rome without destroying its frame-work of ranks of officers, or should they endeavour to construct a new fabric that should be free from the peculiarities of the Romish church. A messenger was dispatched to Switzerland to consult Farel and the other refugees. Their messenger, Faut, travelled on foot to Switzerland, and laid the matter before the Reformers. After consultation, it was the conclusion that something effective should be done in France, like what had been done in Switzerland; and that a strong placard, or manifesto, should be prepared and scattered through France to arouse all the friends of reform to vigorous action; and, if

possible, to alarm, or in some way induce the King to favour a thorough renovation of the Church in France. Farel was appointed to draw up the paper. He drew a manifesto in the same vehement strain of thought he was accustomed to preach; and inveighed in the strongest language against the errors of Rome, and especially against the Mass, which the Reformers considered the centre of abominations, and the Romish clergy clung to as the palladium of their cause. The paper was considered and approved by the refugees; and printed in two forms, a broad sheet to affix to corners of streets, posts, houses, and churches; and pamphlet form to hand around privately. The messenger returned unmolested with a pack of these placards and pamphlets. The consultation in Paris was earnest and protracted. Some thought the circulation of a paper of that denunciatory tone was most imprudent, and would lead to serious consequences. Others were captivated with the bold manner and earnest thought. It was determined to circulate the paper through Paris, and throughout France as far as practicable, in both forms. Preparations were made very secretly, and the 23d of October fixed as the day for the enterprise. The persons appointed were generally devout men, with more or less of prudence, and easily excited. There is no doubt they prayed for divine protection and success. On the appointed night the work was done.

The effect was electric and astounding, and resulted very differently from the expectations of the projectors. The placard and pamphlet aroused all France. Had the King been for the Reformation, the cause

might have speedily been settled. The Reformers acted with great vigour, and followed the placard with other publications in a somewhat different strain. The Romish party were incensed, and retorted with violence; and proclaimed that a deep laid plot was now showing itself against the King and religion; that the Reformers were preparing to fall upon the adherents to the Pope and murder them during public worship. So numerous were the Reformed that their opponents stood in dread. Had there been an organization, either political or religious, to bring unity of action under a wise head, and call out the strength of the Reformed, the King might have thought it prudent to conciliate and establish his government in their hearts. He had the forces of the kingdom at his command; and a complete organization both political and ecclesiastical: and what can undisciplined numbers do against discipline, and skill, and consolidation, guided by a resolute commander.

The King was at Blois. A chorister of the chapel favouring the Reform, entered the palace privately, and advancing unobserved to the King's chamber, affixed a placard to the door. In the morning the attendants, on entering the chamber, took down the placard and handed it to the king. He looked at it a moment, and greatly excited that a paper should be privately affixed to his door, gave it to one of his attendants, directing him to read it. Portions of it were read with comments. The King calling to mind the saying of the Pope's Nuncio, "that if he suffered his people to change their religion, they would soon change their prince," he was more excited, and declared the

act treasonable, that while he was busy in reconciling the two parties in religion, the fanatics were endeavouring to embroil them. Great efforts were made to inflame the King still more against the Reformers. This act of circulating the placard was denounced as high treason. The King in his wrath ordered, "Let all be seized without distinction who are suspected of Lutheresy ; I will exterminate them all."

The day after, the parliament of Paris offered a reward of one hundred crowns to any one who should discover the person or persons who put up the placard. When Francis arrived in Paris great exertions were made to inflame him still more, pressing him to remember that it had been the honour of the French kings to preserve the Church unharmed. The success was complete ; the mind of Francis was inflamed even against his sister Margaret for interceding for some of the Reformers that had been seized. She left Paris and retired to her own dominions. Beda, the fierce persecutor, that had led in the councils for severity, now boldly accused Margaret of being engaged in the placard, and in his frenzy also implicated the king. Francis had him seized and after trial condemned to penance and close confinement for life. There are reports that when Francis arrived at Paris the placards reappeared, and one found the way to his pillow. This indignity incensed him beyond measure. It was an affront to his royal person, and the crime was to be visited on all the Reformed, and on whomsoever else was any way concerned in offering indignity to his person. Seizures and trials and condemnations began ; and these were followed with burnings that commenced

on the 13th of November, and were continued from time to time throughout the year and throughout France. To be convicted of having any part in circulating the placards, was the certain precursor of condemnation to the flames; and men were burnt, not for being Reformers, but being Reformers they were burnt for posting the placards.

Very many of the Reformed fled from France; especially those who had distributed placards, or feared they would be implicated in that offence. Men of all ranks sought refuge in exile. There was no hiding in France from the incensed monarch, who was resolved to punish an ecclesiastical imprudence as a political crime. Successful means were used to find the places of worship frequented by the Reformers in secret; and also the names of the worshippers. The discovery was a certain prelude of punishment, as the offence was charged upon the whole company of the Reformed, and the officers chose out their victims according to their position and influence in life.

It was impressed upon the mind of the King that the offence against the majesty of his crown was too great to be passed over without a special expurgation; and that the offence against the established religion of the country was connected with the offence against himself, and might be expiated at the same time. Francis resolved upon a splendred ovation.

In the meantime his love for his sister revived. He sent for her. In this interview, he charged her with holding the errors of the placards. She denied, and presented a paper drawn up by Lefevre expressing her plan of Reformation. The first proposition was, that

the Christian world should be united under one spiritual head. Then, respecting the Mass, she proposed that the priest should continue to celebrate it; but it shall be: 1st, a public communion; 2d, he will not uplift the Host; 3d, it will not be adored; 4th, priests and people will communicate under both kinds; 5th, there will be no commemoration of the Virgin or Saints; 6th, the communion to be celebrated with ordinary bread; 7th, the priest after breaking and eating will distribute the remainder among the people. "What then is left of the Roman Mass." Margaret then appealed to his love of glory, that by this compromise he would unite all sects and restore unity to the Church; the greatest honour to which he could aspire. Francis was impressed; and agreed to a conference with three of her favourite preachers, then in confinement. He sent for them to the Louvre. The zeal and clearness with which they pointed out the errors of the Mass irritated him, and he sent them back to prison.

An ovation was determined upon to expiate the sin of the placards. The preparation for it was a work of cruelty and blood. On the 10th of November, 1534, seven men were brought from prison, to meet the King's advocate in the criminal chamber of the Chatelet. The sentence was confiscation of property, penance, and to be burnt alive. On the 13th, Milon, the paralytic shoemaker, was taken from prison to the Greve. "Lower the flames," said the officer; "the sentence says he is to be burnt at a slow fire." The constancy of the poor man deeply affected the beholders. On the 14th, Du Bourg, the rich trades-

man of the Rue St. Denis, was taken to the fountain of the Innocents, near his own house, and there his hand that put up the placard was severed from his body. Thence he was taken to the Halles, and there burnt alive. On the 18th, Poille, a disciple of Briconnet, was taken to the Church of St. Catherine. While preparations were making for his death, his profession of faith so exasperated his executioners, they caught his tongue, pierced it, made a slit in his cheek, through which they thrust his tongue, and fastened it with an iron pin. He was burnt alive. On the 19th, a printer and a bookseller, engaged in circulating Luther's works, were burnt together at the Place Maubert. On the 4th of December, a young clerk was burned before Notre Dame. On the following day, a young workman, in a shop near the Pont St. Michael, was burned on a pile erected at the foot of the bridge. Paris was in excitement; and multitudes sought safety in flight and exile.

On the day appointed for the great Expiation, the 21st of January 1535, Paris was in great excitement. Crowds of people from the surrounding country filled the streets. The procession began at the Bishop's palace at six in the morning. First were carried the crosses and banners of the several parishes; then the citizens, two and two, each with a torch; then the four mendicant orders, with the priests and canons of the city. All the relics that could be found were brought out, and as they were carried along, received the devout admiration of the crowd. The canons of the Holy Chapel bore along their most precious relics, some of the Virgin's milk, the purple robe



worn by our Lord, the crown of thorns, the true Cross, and the silver shrine, containing the relics of St. Genevieve, the patron Saint of Paris, never brought out except when France was in peril. After the relics, came a great number of Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops and Abbots. Then came a canopy, borne by the King's three sons, and the Duke of Vendome, and under it, the Host, or bread and wine for the sacrament of the Mass, borne by the Bishop of Paris. After this came Francis I., bareheaded and on foot, holding a lighted taper, like a penitent. He was followed by the Queen, the princes and princesses, the foreign ambassadors and all the court, the Chancellor of France, the council, the parliament in their scarlet robes, the University and other corporations, and the Guard, each carrying a taper, in profound silence. Temporary altars were set up in the principal places along which the procession should pass, on which to place the Host, to repose for a few moments.

When the procession arrived at one of these, Francis gave his taper to the cardinal of Lorraine, joined his hands, and knelt down, humbling himself for the sin of the placards ; all that chose followed the example. After a short pause the Host was taken up and the procession moved on. Immense crowds of people followed through the different streets ; the inhabitants of which stood in front of their houses, and as the Host passed by fell upon their knees. A great body of archers, appointed for the purpose, could scarcely keep open a passage for the procession. Arrived at the church of Notre Dame, the Host was placed on the altar ; mass was said by the Bishop of

Paris, with all imaginable honours, as atonement for past insults. The king and princes returned to the Bishop's palace, and there partook of a sumptuous dinner. After dinner, the nobles and prominent persons that formed the procession, were assembled in the bishop's great hall to hear a speech from the King. He addressed them in a pathetic manner about the harm done to religion, and called on all to unite heartily for the established Church. After sighs and tears from the audience, as expressive of penitence and reverence, the King exclaimed: "I warn you that I will have the said errors expelled and driven from my kingdom; I will excuse no one. As I am your king, if I knew one of my own limbs infected with this rottenness, I would give it you to cut off. And if I saw one of my children defiled by it, I would not spare him. I would deliver him up myself, and sacrifice him to God." Du Bellay, Bishop of Paris, came forward, with Trousou, the Lord of Cauldray and pre-vost of the merchants, knelt before the King and thanked him for his zeal, the first in the name of the clergy, and the other in behalf of the people, and swore to make war against heresy. And there was a general outcry: "We will live and die for the Catholic religion."

The King, with his family, the nobles, and the rest of the procession, resumed his march, and made his first halt at the Marksman's Cross, in the Rue St. Honore, where a scaffold had been prepared. Morin, the lieutenant-crimina, brought forward three persons to be burned, "to appease the wrath of God," the crowd received them with great outcries, and could

scarcely be kept back from assaulting them in their helpless condition. Nicholas Valetton, Receiver of Nantes, a brave man and respected citizen, was first brought forward. His books were burnt with him; the wood for the fire had been taken from his own house. He stood before the pile; by him was a post of some height set firmly in the ground; and to this was affixed a pole crosswise, some distance from the ground, so adjusted, that by a rope at one end, the other could be raised high and let down. The priests desired to gain him, and said to him: "We have the universal Church with us; out of it there is no salvation; return to it; your faith is destroying you." He replied: "I believe only what the prophets and apostles preached, and all the company of saints have believed." The hangman then bound his hands, and fastened them to the end of the swinging pole. The sufferer was then raised in the air by the strappado, his arms sustaining his whole weight, and brought directly over the pile, which was then set on fire, and he was let fall into the flames; almost immediately they raised him again into the air, and then again let him fall. This terrible sport was renewed again and again, till the cord took fire, and the knot was burned, and the body falling into the fire was speedily consumed. The next victim was brought forward, Nicholas, clerk to the registrar of the Chatelet; and being fastened to the strappado, he suffered in the same manner, being dropped into the flames, and raised from them again a number of times, till at last he was consumed. The third, having witnessed all this torture, was, in his turn, bound to the pole, and after

being thrown into the fire a number of times, the cords were cut, and he, like the rest, was reduced to ashes.

The cry then was from the crowd : “To the Halles ! to the Halles !” a place between St. Genevieve and the Louvre, where another pile was prepared, and another strappado and three more victims. The crowd moved off in haste ; and scarcely had the King and his court arrived, before the horrid work began, with a rich fruit merchant of the Halles. After he had been tortured a sufficient time to satisfy the crowd, he was dropped into the flames. Two other devout Reformers were treated successively in the same way. After the burning of these six victims, Francis returned to his palace.

Other parts of France had similar spectacles of cruel fanaticism, glorying in the torments of their fellow citizens, and of devout faith triumphing over death. Everywhere it was now evident that neither the King or the clergy would permit a reform in the worship or doctrines of the Church of France. If any in France wished a reform in manners or worship, or doctrine, or desired a better way of living, or were not satisfied with the established Church of France, there was but one way. They must gather together as believers and worship God irrespective of the Romish church or Romish king.

Francis continued his course, striving like Charles V. and Henry VIII., to be the head of the State and the church, and like Henry, with parliaments to meet and deliberate, and hold the people, to be absolute monarch. Only two additional records of the martyr-

doms suffered during his reign need be recorded as aiding the work of presenting the King and the Reformed people of his kingdom in their true position as it regarded the nation at large and the Church of God. 1st. At Meaux the building in which the Reformed doctrines had been preached with success was torn down, and another erected in its place, in which mass was celebrated. Numbers of the people that used to worship in the former building were seized, and refusing to deny their faith, were committed to the flames. 2d. Cardinal Tournan and the Governor of Provence desired the destruction of the Waldenses; and obtained the sanction of Francis about the year 1544, by the promise that the Waldenses should be conveyed to Marseilles as a colony, and their territory converted into a Swiss canton of the true faith. These mountaineers were assailed for the same reasons as the Reformed had been, their faith in the sufficiency of the Scriptures. Twenty-two villages were burned to ashes, and the inhabitants, instead of being taken to Marseilles, were either murdered or driven into exile. Multitudes of little children were suffered to perish, after their parents had been murdered. Four thousand refugees asked and obtained permission to retire to Geneva, and, as Calvin tells us in a letter written in July, 1545, were kindly received. Before his death, Francis drew up a paper directing his son Henry to make restitution, for their lost property, to that injured people. But what could call back the thousands slain?

Francis I. surrendered his crown and life in 1547. Two years afterward his sister Margaret followed him

to the grave. They maintained their characteristics to the last. He continued to sustain the Romish church in his own dominion ; and to humble his rival, Charles V., encouraged the Protestants in Germany. She, compelled to abandon the hope of reform in the Romish church, held to her simple faith in Christ, and encouraged the Reformers to the utmost of her power, hoping for some good yet to come to the cause of religion.

Francis excused his cruelty, under the pleas of criminal offences, insult to his royal person and crown, and the peace of his kingdom. Margaret wept over the destruction of her hopes, in the great exhibition of indignation and fanaticism ; and, cherishing her attachment to her brother, sought quietness in her dominions of Navarre and Bearne. Francis was cruel under excitement, and by diplomacy. Margaret, always gentle and inclined to timidity, and made bold by a sense of her proper dignity, and the truth of her religious views and the welfare of her subjects ; she was a king's daughter, a king's sister, and a king's wife, and a believer in the Scriptures, and humbly hoped for salvation through Christ alone. The wonder is : where did she obtain her ideas of feminine purity in a corrupt court ; and how did she maintain it amidst all the ill-example, and precept, and seductive influences that surrounded her. Her writings exhibit her sense of purity and her faith, and also furnish convincing evidence that there was need of a reform in the court of France. She has left evidence of being one of the purest and best of women ; as Francis has left evidence of being one of the most lascivious and false of men.

Henry II., second son of Francis, held the crown from 1547 to 1559. With less ability of mind and body, he followed the steps of his father to the utmost of his power. He favoured the Romish church, to which he was bound more closely by his wife, Catherine de Medici, the niece of Pope Clement VII. And, in the war in Germany, which preceded the treaty of Passau, 1552, and the consequent Diet and religious peace of Augsburg, 1555, he assisted the Protestants of Germany against Charles V., and while establishing the reformation in Germany, and thereby weakening his father's great rival, he turned to persecutions of the reformed in his own kingdom. The council of Trent held a number of sessions during his reign. Their decisions were not always such as the ecclesiastics of the French Established Church desired, but were generally such as the Protestants in Germany, and the Reformed in France, greatly opposed. No reformation in the Church of Rome, was, on any account, to be expected. By the treaty of Passau and the religious peace of Augsburg, the Protestants of Germany were confirmed in their rights of religion.

In 1553, Henry II. permitted the martyrdom of five young men at Lyons. They were arrested for maintaining their belief in the sufficiency of the Scriptures without tradition, that men were saved by faith in Christ and that only, and that there was need of a reformation in the Church of Rome, or in default of that, of a Reformed Church in France. For these articles of faith, held by multitudes in France, these young men were arrested at Lyons. Kept in a room

by themselves, means were constantly used with them to bring about a recantation ; but in vain. Their common suffering in prison found a balm in their mutual faith. On the day of their execution they were taken from prison at the hour of two in the afternoon, and placed together in a wagon. Exhorting each other to courage and perseverance to the end, to gain the victory, they began the ninth Psalm in French metre, "I will praise thee, O Lord, with my whole heart." On the way to execution, they prayed and recited passages of Scripture. At the end of the bridge over the Soane, at a place called *Le Herberie*, one of them, turning to the crowd, said with a loud voice, "The God of Peace who brought again from the dead the Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do His will." Then they began reciting the Apostle's creed, in sentences one after another in turn. The one who repeated the words, "was conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary," raised his voice as if to repel the calumny that charged them with denying these articles, or speaking ill of the Virgin. The soldiers repeatedly interrupted them with threats ; they replied : "Will you hinder us from praying and calling upon God the little time we have to live ?" At the place of execution was a stake surrounded by a pile of wood at a little distance making a space for them to stand. The two youngest mounted the pile first. Removing their clothes, they were handed down by the executioner and tied to the stake. The eldest, *Martial Alba*, ascended the pile last. The executioner came to him, as he remained



long upon his knees, and took him in his arms to put him down with the others. Calling to Lieutenant Tegnac, he earnestly requested to be permitted to kiss his brethren before death. Being permitted, he stooped and kissed the four brethren tied to the stake, saying to each, "Adieu! adieu! my brother." The four brethren turning their heads, kissed each other, saying the same words. Alba then committed them to God, and kissing the executioner, said, "My friend, forget not what I have said to thee." A chain was then passed around the five, binding them all together to the stake, and fire was put to the pile. To spare them the suffering of burning alive, the executioner prepared a rope which he passed around their necks for the purpose of strangling them by a machine. Unhappily, the flames burned the cord and defeated his merciful design. Amidst the flames their voices were heard crying out: "Courage brother! courage brother!" They were quickly reduced to ashes. Their dying cry of "Courage, brother! courage, brother!" thrilled the hearts of the spectators and echoed through Lyons. And multitudes who might have been kept in the Romish church, if the Council of Trent had granted that reformation demanded by public sentiment, felt in their hearts courage to profess the faith in which these young men died. A cheerful, courageous death is fascinating; and that which enables men to pass happily from this world commends itself strongly to men's feelings and then to their judgments. The song of a martyr in the flames has inspired with courage many a timid heart. Men are moved by examples of patient endurance. Could Briconnet, bishop

of Meaux, been firm in the profession and promulgation of his faith, his sufferings that were threatened, might have come upon him with a blessing to other bishops. As the burning of the common members of the church made converts of other members, and the burning of priests made converts of priests, and the burning of nobles made converts of nobles, so the burning of a bishop might have been the means of converting other bishops, and watering with the dews of grace other diseases.

King Henry II., under the influence of his wife, Catherine de Medici, niece of Pope Clement VII., became more and more openly the enemy of the Reformers in his own kingdom, in proportion as by his own councils and aid, the Protestants in Germany became more and more safe from the power of their temporal Emperor, Charles V. The year next succeeding the religious peace of Augsburg in 1555, Charles, the Emperor, resigned his crown of Spain in favour of his son, Philip II.; that of Emperor of Germany he could not dispose of at his will. However grand the parade accompanying his resignation, and however pious and plausible the reasons he gave for it, his ill-success with the Protestants of Germany evidently had a powerful influence on his determinations. His ship was foundering on the breakers, and he escaped to a convent. Unawed by the example, the King of France went on in the same infatuated course of striving to prevent human enquiry and human progress. But a short time before his death, he most earnestly pressed upon the parliament of Paris the propriety of introducing the Inquisition into

France, to aid the clergy in disposing of heretics and strengthen Romanism. Dubourg, a magistrate of Paris, a member of the parliament, said in debate, in presence of the King, "There is necessity for a reform;" and also, "The persecution of those called heretics, cannot be justified." The King, construing this, as his father had done the placards, an insult to the royal personage, was enraged. Procuring his arrest, and his subsequent condemnation, he exulted: "I hope," he said, "with mine own eyes to see Dubourg burnt." That honest man was strangled and then burnt; but the King did not witness the flames; he came to his end in July 1559, in consequence of an accident which befell him in a tournament, at the marriage feast of his sister with the Duke of Savoy. Insisting on riding a tilt with Montmorency, he received a wound in the eye, which in a few days proved mortal. A few weeks after Pope Paul III. ended his violent pontificate. And Charles V., having died in a monastery in Spain the year previous, and Henry VIII. of England, passing away in 1557, the same year with Francis I., all the great monarchs and leaders left the stage of action, about the time the Reformed Church of France became an acknowledged Church of the Reformation, with a Confession of Faith and Church discipline, that have been the study and admiration of Protestants. Moulded in the fires of persecution, the Church, and its creed, and forms, were purified from false philosophy.

The difficulties under which the Reformers in France proceeded in their work of purification and union have been considered. There were some favourable events,

and associations of circumstances, that contributed greatly to their final success, in presenting to the Church of God and all posterity, evidence of their flourishing existence, about the time their greatest adversaries left this stage of action. 1st. The influences connected with the Duchess of Ferrara. 2d. Those clustering around John Calvin. 3d. Those connected with Clement Marot. 4th. Those flowing from the Protestant Churches of Switzerland, Germany, Holland and England.

*I. The Duchess of Ferrara.*—Renata, daughter of Louis XII., King of France, and Ann of Brittany, born at Blois October 25, 1510, was in her sphere a great ornament, and a bright light, of the Reformation. It is a question, difficult and not necessary to be decided, whether she, or Margaret, Queen of Navarre, were during their life-time the most effective in their aid of revival of religion and literature in France. Sister of Claudia, the wife of Francis I., she was much at his court. Embracing the doctrines of revival about faith, and the Scriptures, and reform in the Church, she imbibed with them the principles and practice of toleration. Like Margaret, she began the life of godliness, purity, and kindness, in a lascivious court, where beautiful and educated ladies of rank were assembled, that the King might not feel himself compelled, in his pleasures, to expose himself to the criticism and revenge of the untitled classes of France. The vices of the King were to be concealed under the license and splendour of the court. In her infancy—1513—as a political measure, she was es-

poused to Charles of Austria, afterwards the Emperor Charles V.; and again espoused to him, for the same reasons, in 1515. As a matter of course the rivalry of Francis and Charles annulled all such engagements. She enjoyed in her early life the company and influence of Margaret: and with her had the advantage of the conversation of the Reformers that visited the court; and the writings of those who lived remote from Paris. Her education was carefully attended to. Not elegant in person, she was endowed with many mental qualifications; quick of wit, and apt to learn, she delighted in studying and comprehending those branches esteemed difficult, as the mathematics, and astronomy, and whatever pertained to the right understanding of theology, as drawn from the revealed will of God. In these things she made proficiency beyond the usual attendants on the court. Capable of clear conceptions of the true and the pure in principle and in action, and of accurate distinctions in religion and morals as exhibited in public or domestic life; possessed of ardent affections, strong feelings, and a stronger will,—she decided for herself, the course of religious living she should pursue; and chose the faith that should be her guide and her comfort. She became the wife of Hercules De Este, Duke of Ferrara and Modena, in 1527; the same year that Margaret became Queen of Navarre, and the court of Francis became obsequious to the Pope. The Duke was always partial to the Pope, and was sometimes swayed by his influence to severity. The Duchess gathered to her court men of pure and capacious minds, and encouraged literature and science

by her example and her patronage. She paid great attention to the education of her five children; of whom it was said that, although the mother was not prepossessing in her person, her children were among the fairest of the age. In times of trouble, the Reformers found a refuge with her. Calvin for a time sought her protection. His Institutes of Religion became her book of theology. Clement Marot, with his translations of the Psalms, took refuge in Ferrara. At times the Duke made it prudent for the Reformers to retire; but could never persuade the Duchess to abate the strength of her attachment to the doctrines she had embraced in her youth. Beza says she esteemed Calvin above all the other Reformers, though he never visited her after he became a resident of Geneva.

The Duchess was always compassionate to Frenchmen in distress. To the remonstrance of her treasurer against her great expense in aiding some distressed soldiers returning from a campaign in Italy, she replied, that but for the peculiar customs of France, these would have been her subjects. The Duke of Greve, to whom she had espoused her daughter, Ann of Este, sent an officer to batter down the walls of Montagris, where she was then residing, unless she expelled some Protestants, whom he called rebels. She replied to the message: "If you come, I will be present in the breach, and I will try whether you will have the boldness to kill the daughter of a King. If you should commit such a crime, heaven and earth will avenge her death, on all your lives, even to the very children in their cradles." The Duke paused,

and troubled her no farther. She died soon after. Always ready to help the distressed, she remained firm in her faith till the last, though always exposed to trials on account of her proximity to the Italian States, and especially to Rome, the seat of the papacy.

Of a sickly habit in her advanced years, her life was prolonged to more than three-score years. She lived to see the Reformed Church of France completely organized as a church, separated from Rome, and extending its influence over about half of France. She lived to see the malevolence of Catherine de Medici, in the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, August, 1572. She had mourned the death of Margaret, and of her daughter, Jean De Albert; and learned practically the prophet's declaration, (Isa. lvii: 1): "The righteous are taken away from the evil to come." And as these two Queens did not see the "evil" that accompanied the alliance with Catherine, she herself did not see the evil that followed the intriguing counsels that bewildered Henry IV. She went to her final rest June 12, 1575.

## *II. The influences clustering round John Calvin.*

One year older than the Duchess of Ferrara, like her, he was deeply impressed with the doctrines of the gospel as set forth by the Reformers. His education was very complete in those studies that fit a man to be a commentator on the Scriptures, and enable him to write clearly and well. He began early to employ his knowledge and talents in making known to others the doctrines that had deeply impressed his own mind. His success in teaching the small companies, gathered

in private houses, drew the attention of friends and foes of the Reformation. To avoid arrest, he escaped the officer by flight through the window of his study, and became an exile from France. Earnestly desirous of doing good to his native country, he could not visit her often, or prolong his visits. He spent some time with the Queen of Navarre, and some time with the Duchess of Ferrara, and some time in Strasburg; and, much against his previous inclination, was induced by the solicitation of man, and the providence of God, to spend his life and labours in Geneva. He excelled most of the Reformers in the use of his pen. His letters, his Institutes of Religion, and his Commentaries on the Scriptures, loose none of their interest by the passing of years. In Geneva, in connexion with the Reformers in Switzerland, some of whom, like himself, were Frenchmen, he formed a church on the Scripture model, with one order of teachers or ministers, with elders for discipline and deacons for the benevolent operations of the Church. The theory was complete and scriptural; but the State insisted on having some voice in the choice of the officers of the Church, and in its management. From Geneva and other parts of Switzerland, the writings of Calvin and the other Reformers, were, by the printing-press and colporteurs, sent to all parts of France and circulated extensively. From Geneva Calvin had correspondence with all parts of Europe, and most particularly with France. The productions of his pen could go where he was not permitted, and could operate silently on men's judgment and heart. In adjusting the operations of the Reformed Church



in France, frequent reference was had to Calvin, Beza and Farel; and by the steady opposition of the Government, and refusal to patronize the believers desirous of a church connexion, the Reformed Church of France came out, the ideal of Calvin in excellence, the state having no control in the choice of its officers, or in the exercise of discipline, or over the creed. Though not in France he was of France, and laboured for her with more success than if he had been permitted to live and die, as he had wished, in her boundaries. His days were ended May 27th, 1564.

*III. The cluster of circumstances around Clement Marot and Psalmody.*—Fontenelle, himself a writer of eminence, thinks that Marot did more than all that preceded him, in refining and polishing the language of France. He set the standard of polite language and conversation at court, by the exceeding popularity of his poetry. His father was a poet of some celebrity, and held the post of valet de chambre to Francis I. The son Clement held the same position for a time. About the year 1520 he was attached to the family of the Duke De Alencon, husband of Margaret, sister of the King. He followed the Duke to the army. In the battle of Pavia he was wounded. On his return to Paris he was seized and put in prison on account of a charge of having interfered improperly with some prisoners. By the interposition of the King he was set at liberty. Fearing another imprisonment, he retired to Navarre to the court of Margaret. From thence he went to the court of the Duchess of Ferrara. Of Margaret he said—

Whose pious heart God to Himself doth draw  
Better I trust than amber doth the straw.

On his return to France, Vatablus, Regius professor of Hebrew in the University of Paris, persuaded him to translate some of the Psalms of David into French verse. Having versified about twenty Psalms, taken without numerical order, into lively ballad measure, he printed them in 1540 with a dedication to the King. The sweetness of the poetry accomplished an entire success at the court. The book was received as a literary production of great merit. The King was pleased with the dedication. The demand for copies was greater than the printer could supply. The Sorbonne censured the book. The King and court carried it triumphantly against all opposition. Being in the Troubadour, or ballad measure, one and another began to sing them to old ballad tunes. The members of the court had their favourite Psalms and tunes. The heir apparent, Henry II., used to sing the paraphrase of the 42d, "As the hart panteth after the water brooks," when he took his exercise in hunting. Madame Valentois chose the 28th, "Unto Thee will I cry, O Lord." The queen chose the 6th, "O Lord, rebuke me not in Thine anger." The king of Navarre selected the 43rd, "Judge me, O God, and plead my cause," which he sung to a cheerful tune. The queen mother followed the fashion, as did the court, and the Psalms of Marot might be heard at all times and in all places, in the court, sung to lively tunes. Religion for a time was fashionable at least in the poetic measures of Marot. In a little time they were sung by all classes and in all places. They took

for a time, the place of national songs. The poet was encouraged to paraphrase thirty more Psalms, in the same measure. The fifty were printed in Geneva in 1543 with a preface by Calvin; and the circulation was wide. They were sung in the Netherlands in the field meetings of the Reformed.

The effect on the crowds there was electric and irresistible. The first thirty, with eight others by unknown authors, were printed at Rome, in 1542, in Gothic, by order of the Pope. Apprehending the ill-will of the Sorbonne, the poet retired to Geneva for a season. In 1545, an edition of the fifty Psalms was printed at Strasburg. It is said that the last Psalm but one in the edition at Rome, the paraphrase of the 142d, was put in to please Catharine de Medici, the wife of the Dauphin, Henry II., she fancying that it suited her condition. Beza versified the remaining one hundred Psalms; and these with those of Marot were printed in one volume. The circulation in Switzerland was extensive. The different Psalms were fitted to tunes as the taste of people inclined; and were sometimes accompanied by musical instruments. Calvin persuaded two musicians of high repute to set the whole number of Psalms to music; and procured the printing of the Psalms and music together. In a little time, ten thousand copies were sold. Romanists and Reformed carried them about as spiritual songs. People sung them in private, at their meals, and in company. With whatever motive they began to sing them, the effect was good upon the conscience.

The licentious, alarmed at the progress and influence of these spiritual songs, and finding the Sorbonne

could not prevent their circulation, sought for some remedy. The Cardinal Lorraine directed the efforts of the opposers. He procured the translation of odes of Horace, Tibullus and Catullus into French metre, for circulation in the court of Francis. Many sung them with joy. In time, lascivious songs took possession of the court, in which lasciviousness reigned.

The influence of Marot's Psalms was more and more extended. In 1553, the Psalms of Beza and Marot were very extensively used in the congregations of the Reformed as a part of public worship, being interposed as the service went on, for the refreshment of the congregation. The adoption of them as a part of public worship by the Reformed, caused their rejection by the Romanists. To sing one of the Psalms of Beza or Marot was considered evidence of a desire of reform in the Romish church. The simplicity and pathos of this version have never been surpassed. The ballad measure was finally objected to, as too light for public worship; and another version was substituted to suit the taste of the age with questionable advantage. The influence of Marot on the language and poetry of France has been enduring, and the good accomplished by introducing the singing of David's psalms into the Reformed congregations and families cannot be estimated. The poet died in 1554.

*IV. The circumstances connected with the Reform in Switzerland, the German States, Holland and Great Britian.*—There were some peculiarities attending the reform in each of the kingdom and States in which it prevailed. In the German States the civil powers

were prominent in accomplishing the reform. Two influences urged them on—a conviction of the truth and soundness of the principles of the Reformers, and a conviction that a separation from the power of the Pope would be greatly advantageous to the State. It is not necessary here to enquire which had the greater influence: it is enough to be assured that each had influence; and united, they decided the civil authorities to resist the Emperor, the champion of the Romish church. The princes resorted to arms, and after years of contention and blood, effected the separation. By the treaty of Passau between the Emperor and Maurice, in 1552, and the Diet of Augsburg, in 1555, the liberty of the German Protestants was secured. Those who held to the Augsburg Confession, which was made public in 1530, were pronounced free from all jurisdiction of the Pope, and all the citizens of Germany had the privilege of choosing their form of worship and system of doctrine. Any molestation, of any individual, on account of his church connexion, was pronounced a crime against the State. The Protestant States, as States, exercised authority, in some established way over the subject of religion, in its forms, doctrines, discipline, and worship. Freed from the authority of the Pope, religion was not free from the authority of the State.

In Great Britain King Henry VIII. effected a separation from the Romish church. He gave such reasons as satisfied the English nation, and more particularly himself, that longer union with the Romish church was injurious to his dignity and authority in his own kingdom, and unfavourable to the prosperity

of the people at large. Reform in the Church, so far as to render the English branch of the Church independent of the Romish, he caused to be speedily effected. The Reform, as it was finally settled under Elizabeth, was a work of years, and left the King the head of the National Church.

In the States of Holland the revival and reform were moving on, and carrying the fashion of the State with it. Like the Protestant States of Germany, the State held some authority over the proceedings of the Church. The civil power had contended for it, and protected it, and maintained its liberty, and claimed some voice in its management. In form, the Church was like that of France.

In Switzerland the Church was not declared entirely independent of the State. The Church and State aided each other. The Church instructed and purified the State, and the State defended and somewhat modified the Church.

In some things all agreed. There was but one opinion about the sufficiency of the Scriptures; and about justification by faith in Christ alone. In all but England there was but one order of ministers or pastors; and by office they were all equal. There was a difference about the connexion of Church and State. Entire independence of all foreign churches and nations was asserted and maintained; and the authority claimed by any civil power over the Church was on account of aid and protection yielded to the Church by the State. In England the principle of reform was guided by the rule, that in addition to what the Bible taught as necessary in the form of the

Church, things not forbidden might be introduced if desirable. All other Protestants acted on the rule, that what was not commanded as necessary to the form of the Church, was virtually forbidden by not being mentioned.

The Confession of Augsburg of 1530, as also the Confessions of the Churches of Switzerland were circulated widely through France; and their principles, both of doctrine and practice, were familiar to those desiring reform. The position of the Church of England was well understood by all.

To all these influences may be added the fact of negative influence in France. No civil power in France, either of the provinces acting through the thirteen parliaments, or any of the hereditary princes, whether of royal or noble blood, had espoused openly the cause of Revival and Reform, except as Francis had advocated the Revival of Literature and Science. The whole weight of governmental influence was against a separation from Rome, or a reform in the Church. The revival flourished contrary to the will of the State. There was, therefore, liberty to mould the form of the Church according to conviction of truth. The Word of God was the only authority. Example was taken from the Churches founded by the Apostles, and those flourishing before the State took the Church under its protection, in the time of Constantine, at which time the deterioration in purity began. History was invoked to define and explain the additions made to the doctrines, discipline, and form of worship in the Christian Church, from the time of Constantine down through all the dark ages till the

time in which they were then acting. There was full liberty to mould the Church after the Scripture authority, and model of the pure ages, rejecting all the accumulated mass of forbidden and unrequired things, gathered in the revolution of centuries. What was required in Scripture was at once received; what was forbidden was rejected; what was uncommanded was passed by as what was refused by the Head of the Church.

In the midst of these unfavourable and favourable circumstances, flowing along together and intermingling, the reformed in France, guided by the Providence and blessed by the Spirit of God, were continually increasing in numbers. They knew the peril of their position; and under the convictions of conscience, went on; learning caution from their own mistakes, and the cunning watchfulness of their adversaries. When it became evident that the Romish Church would not be reformed, those that desired a better state of things, considered carefully what the outward form of the Church should be, and what the administration of the ordinances. Had not the revival and effort at reform sprung from the heart of the people, irrespective of the rulers, it must have died away. The rulers might have fashioned it as Henry VIII., or as the German princes did the enlightened people of their dominions, but to eradicate the principles of Reform, the people must be eradicated or changed.

The first preachers had grown up in the National Church; and the first houses for their ministrations were the parish churches. When these churches



were shut against them by authority, their meetings for prayer and instruction were held in private houses, or in retired places in the open air, or in the woods. The early preachers modified the doctrines and simplified the worship of the National Church.

1st. Instead of private confession of sin to the priest, a short general confession was made in public as of the regular worship. The minister leading in the confession.

2d. The word of God was read; the selections of greater or less length being made by the minister officiating.

3d. A public prayer was offered, embracing the things proper to be prayed for in the public congregation.

4th. A part, longer or shorter, of Scripture was expounded.

5th. Somewhere in the service the Lord's prayer, the Apostle's creed, and the ten commandments were repeated.

6th. The form of baptism was greatly simplified; also the administration of the Lord's supper, and the form of marriage and the burial of the dead.

This simplicity characterized the worship of the Reformed from the beginning. After Marot's versification of the Psalms, singing became a part of public worship in which all the congregation joined. Some of the leading men wrote forms of service, models of brevity and exactness. These came into use and acquired authority by common consent; and were a common bond of worship. When a form of discipline and worship was publicly agreed upon, these

forms of service were left untouched and unprescribed ; they are still in existence.

When the hope of a reform in the National Church had died away, and a form of discipline, and a creed became a necessity, then men and women were associated in companies according to convenience. Proper places for worship and suitable persons to take the lead, could not be wanting to a people gathered from all ranks of people, from the Queen of Navarre, the sister of the King, with Renata the Duchess of Ferrara, down through the nobility, the landholders, the merchants, the soldiers, the mechanics, the learned men, the professors in college, and the common people of France. The rich and the poor met together, and the Lord, their Maker, was the God they worshipped. Men were set apart to have the oversight of the associations, to give alarm in time of danger, and to designate the time and place for their meetings when they wished them to be unobserved. When circumstances permitted, their social worship was regular. Baptism was administered when called for, and the ordinance of the Supper solemnly set forth, as often as prudence permitted ; and the discipline to promote godly living carefully attended to, by the proper persons, according to the Word of God. The persons to teach and watch over a given neighbourhood or number of families were united in a body called the *consistory*, or persons to stand by each other in a great work. These consistories were formed all over France, with great prudence and caution. The members were in posts of honor and of danger.

To perpetuate the gospel ministry, another step in

the line of order was taken. While every ordained man possessed the inherent right and power to prepare a successor and perpetuate the ministry, it was conceded that, according to the Scripture, to promote unity of action and harmony of spirit, more than one should be engaged in the ordination of ministers; and that the number should not be less than three, but unlimited as to a greater number; and that the people should take part by the action of their supervisors or elders. Those set apart for this purpose, and those for the mutual oversight of the consistories, united, were denominated the Colloquy, or the Conference. These came into being as necessity called for them. In some cases it appears there was a Colloquy of ministers and of elders where there was no division into associations; and these large bodies were in time divided and sub-divided, and still held their unity under the Colloquy. In other cases small associations were united, as they could obtain pastors or teachers, and thus formed a Colloquy or Conference.

The next step of great importance for the preservation of order and harmony, and at the same time requiring great prudence and caution, as a step to be taken under the government of a jealous monarchy prone to consider religious movements, like those of the Reformers, as political offences, was the formation of Synods, the uniting of Colloquies contiguous into larger bodies, and so bringing together at stated times the pastors and elders of a number of Colloquies for mutual council and assistance. As there were thirteen provincial parliaments in France named after the provinces, it was agreed to form thirteen Synods, to

be called Provincial, and named after the provinces, as the Synod of Daupheny, the Synod of Orleans. This delicate business was completed in 1555, the year of the treaty of Augsburg, by which the Protestants of Germany were confirmed in their religious rights.

One step more was wanting to complete the organization of the Reformed French Church, and the more difficult, as its influence was to be more widely extended. While Henry II. and his cardinal, Lorraine, were urging the parliament to introduce the Inquisition, for the purpose of more completely destroying heresy; meaning thereby the Reformers; and while preparations were making to carry out the secret treaty with Spain for the general destruction of all heresy, or reform, from Spain and France, by the matrimonial alliances of the only sister of Henry II. with the Duke of Savoy, and his eldest daughter and Philip II. of Spain, this great and desirable event was accomplished. The marriage feasts and the death of Henry took place in July, 1559; and the National Synod of the Reformed French Church was formed in the month of May of the same year.

With concert, without notoriety, eleven pastors of the Reformed French Church assembled in Paris, May 25, 1559, for the purpose of forming a National Synod. Two of the pastors of Paris, one of St. Lo, in Normandy, of Angiers, of Orleans, of Tours, of Chastelheraud, of Poitiers, of Xantes, of St. John of Angeli, and of Marennes. Francis De Morell was chosen president. A Confession of Faith, in forty articles, drawn up by Chandieu, one of the pas-

tors in Paris, was presented for consideration ; and was adopted as the national creed, or confession. A form of discipline, in forty canons, was also adopted as the discipline of the National Church. After a harmonious session of three days the Synod was dissolved.

Mr. Quick, in his Synodicon, says : “The confession was presented to Francis II., king of France, first at Amboise in behalf of the professors of the reformed religion in that kingdom ; afterwards to Charles IX., at the conference at Poissy. It was the second time presented to that king, and at length published by the pastors of the French churches in the year 1566, with a preface to all the evangelical pastors. It was also most solemnly signed and ratified, in the National Synod, held the first time at Rochelle, in 1571, the year before the Bartholomew massacre, by Jane, Queen of Navarre, Henry, Prince of Bearne, Henry De Bourbon, Prince of Conde, Lewis, Count of Nassau, and Sir Gaspard Coligny, Lord High Admiral of France.”

The canons of discipline, he says, at first were few “yet they did, in three and twenty synods, alter, add, amend, and augment and ameliorate till they had brought it to that complete form and system for the conduct of all their churches, in fourteen chapters and two hundred and twenty-two sections, as follows :

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|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Chap. 1. of ministers.      | Chap. 4. of the deaconship |
| “ 2. of schools.            | or chanters of the         |
| “ 3. of elders and deacons. | church.                    |
|                             | “ 5. of the consistory.    |

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|---|---|
| Chap. 6. of the union of<br>the churches. | “ 10. of religious exer-<br>cises in public |
| “ 7. of the colloquies.                   | assemblies.                                 |
| “ 8. of provincial sy-<br>nods.           | “ 11. of baptism.                           |
| “ 9. of national sy-<br>nods.             | “ 12. of Lord’s supper.                     |
|   | “ 13. of marriage.                          |
|   | “ 14. particular orders<br>and regulations. |

The National Synod was a representative body: the delegates were sent from the Provincial Synods. In this respect it differed from the High Court in the Scottish and American Church, which is formed of delegates from Presbyteries, or as the French would call them, Colloquies.

The articles of the confession are formed on the predestinarian principle: the discipline and worship rests on the equality of the clergy in office and authority. As bands of union, they held the Reformed, or Huguenots, (as they now began to be called,) in one brotherhood, under all the violence of persecution. As a whole, the confession and discipline were a model for the Church of Holland and of Scotland, and an improvement on the church polity of Geneva. The pastors were called upon to make the devotion to the work of the ministry *suprême* and for life; the elders were warned that they might be expected in given circumstances to retire from their labours. To the children were promised schools, academies, colleges, universities and divinity schools, as occasion might require.

Thus arranged, the Church came forth from the

wilderness, “like pillars of smoke perfumed with myrrh and frankincense ;” as she went on she looked “forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners.” She had the honourable position, at that time singular and commiserated, of a church in a State, and not of the State, not gathered by State authority, not supported by State funds, nor defended by State laws ; composed of people attached to their country, and loyal to their government, paying largely for its support and every day exposed to wrongs and outrages, imprisonment and death. And in the midst of it all, increasing in numbers and influence, and continually spreading out its branches.

## CHAPTER III.

From the formation of the National Synod, 1559, and the Treaty of Chateau Cambresis, to the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, August 24, 1572.

WHEN it was announced that a treaty of peace had been agreed upon, at Chateau Cambresis, in 1559, between Philip II. of Spain and Henry II. of France, the ex-Emperor Charles V. was distressed in his retirement, and all Europe was surprised. There was no reason visible why the war, if rightly begun, should not be carried on. Philip had been victorious, and might have demanded more than the treaty gave him in its published articles. Henry had suffered defeat; but lost too much by the treaty, if he were right in beginning the war for the possession of part of the Netherlands. The mystery was not solved in that age. From documents long concealed from public view, but now before the world, the moving cause of the treaty is known to have been the contemplated destruction of the Huguenots. Cardinal Lorraine, with the knowledge and approbation of the Pope, proposed to the two Kings to cease from war, and unite their powers for the destruction of all that were dissatisfied with the doctrines and worship of the Romish church within their two kingdoms. A treaty was formed and published to the world. A secret article, or treaty, on which the



other rested, bound the two Kings to mutual assistance in executing a purpose Philip had long cherished as the great object of his life, the extinction of all that opposed the Church of Rome, the Church of his choice. Henry was persuaded to cease contending for any part of the Netherlands; and to unite with Philip in subduing it to one standard of faith and practice, with the promise of Philip's assistance to convert or destroy multitudes of his own loyal subjects.

One of the articles of the public treaty proposed the marriage of Margaret, the eldest sister of Henry, to Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy; and of Elizabeth, the second daughter, to King Philip of Spain. At the celebration of the nuptials at Paris, King Henry insisted on taking a part in the tournament; and, running a joust with the Count De Montgomeri, received a wound in his eye from a splinter of his adversary's spear. From the effects of this wound he in a short time died, (on the 13th of July,) less than two months after the meeting of the National Synod of the French Reformed, and before he had time to prepare any measures for the destruction of his subjects. He had, before this marriage, urged upon his parliament the propriety of an edict, compelling the Huguenots to conform to the Church of Rome, or leave the kingdom. The parliament refused the edict. He had permitted the Cardinal Lorraine to introduce the Inquisition in a modified form into France. He died a persecutor of the Reformed.

His eldest son, Francis II., in his 16th year, succeeded him. The Queen mother, the widow of Henry II.,

assumed the regency. Two families of the Princes of the blood demanded the administration of affairs during the minority of Francis; one represented by the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, the other by the Cardinal Lorraine and his brother, the Duke of Guise. The King of Navarre, of the Bourbon line from St. Louis, claimed the crown of France, should the Valois line, that now held it, fail in male heirs. His claim was strengthened for his children, in right of his wife, the daughter of Margaret, the sister of Francis I. of the house of Valois. The nation at large favoured the Bourbon claim. The Guises laid claim to the crown, in the same contingency, on account of their nearness of kin, strengthened by the influence of the Romish clergy, with the Pope at their head. The feeble constitution and sickly habits of the young King, and the delicate appearance of his younger brothers, gave ominous forebodings of a protracted regency, with the strong probability that the crown would soon depart from the Valois line. The succession became a subject of thought and conversation throughout the kingdom. The two aspirants, the Bourbon and the Guise, gathered their friends, and were active in extending their influence and increasing their numbers. The Bourbon favoured the Huguenots and reform in the Church, or a new Church such as the Huguenots had formed. The Guise turned to the adherents of the Romish church, in whose numbers lay their strength. The nobles and their retainers and friends now became arrayed in opposition on a political question, who should wear the crown of France; and the struggle

was furious, till the death of the last of the sons of Henry II. and Catherine de Medici. The adherents of Rome were the most numerous, and the Guises trusted to force and violence for their ultimate success. The friends of the Bourbons were scattered over France. They were not weak, at this conjuncture of events, in the nobility. The King of Navarre, that claimed the crown, offered himself as leader in the political cause, and as a supporter of the Reform in the religious movements. The Prince of Condé, himself a Bourbon, professed to favour the cause of the Reformed. The Admiral Coligny had become a convert to the doctrines of the Reformation. Taken prisoner at the battle of St. Quentin, he passed the days of his captivity in perusing the Bible with great care. Convinced by the word of God, he professed faith in Christ alone for salvation. Conference with the Reformers after his release, and further study of the word of God, led him to embrace the doctrines of the Reformed faith. Anxious both for the safety of the Reformed and for the glory of France, with the approbation and counsel of Calvin, he projected a colony of Huguenots in America. In the attempts for its accomplishment, he was now engaged. The Chatillons embraced the new faith, and advocated the Bourbon claim to the crown. Many other of the nobility professed their attachment to the Reformed and the Bourbons. The greatest strength of the Reformed was in the middle classes of society, the merchants, mechanics, and small landholders. In the lower classes they were the minority. The strength of the Guise family was

in the nobility and the lower classes, who clung to the Church of Rome with bigotted adherence.

Catherine de Medici, the Queen mother and regent, had some settled principles of action ; the maintaining her ascendancy as regent during the minority of her children ; the preventing the Bourbons from obtaining the crown, should it pass from her hands ; the accomplishment of the destruction of the Reformed, both in Church and State, as a necessity, if she would maintain the regency and disappoint the Bourbons ; and lastly the indulgence of unbounded appetites. The agreement with Spain for the destruction of all opposers of the Romish church was carefully cherished ; it was never from her plans or purposes ; it seemed to be with her in her waking and sleeping moments, and in all her designs of life. For the accomplishment of her purposes she gave the powers of an active mind, the energy of a powerful will, and the resources of an unscrupulous heart. "Circumvention, fraud, deception," these were her "weapons;" and she pursued her course unflinching and consistent, till the crown passed to the Bourbons. It is to be remembered that her purposes were never revealed but by her actions, and by time that uncovers all hidden things to the historic pen.

The King of Navarre, the Duke of Condé, the Admiral Coligny, the Cardinal Chatillon, with a great number of persons of distinction, met at Vendome, in 1560. The Constable Montmorency, whose post had been given to the Duke of Guise, sent his secretary to represent him. Condé proposed taking arms to settle the regency : the King of Navarre

and the Admiral opposed such a step as exposing them to the charge of treason ; and proposed a deputation to the Queen mother to persuade her to abandon the Guise pretensions and to favour the Bourbon claims ; or as the least favour to grant the Huguenots a share in the government, with the restoration of their previous offices. This proposition prevailed, and the King of Navarre was sent to visit the court. The King, under the influence of the Duke and Cardinal Guise, refused him an audience except in their presence ; and finally rejected all his propositions and remonstrances. The Queen mother with great address gained the confidence of the King of Navarre, made him brilliant promises for the future, and conferred on him the honour of conducting the sister of the late king to the borders of Spain, the espoused wife of King Philip, according to the treaty formed at Chateau Cambresis. The King of Navarre having, with a splendid retinue, performed this office, returned to his home in Bearne, satisfied with the Queen, her promises, and his expectations, utterly unconscious that, in his simplicity and vanity, he had aided in carrying into effect the plans preparing for the destruction of the Bourbon hopes and the Reformed Church of France.

Condé and many others were greatly dissatisfied with the conclusion of their deputation and remonstrances. A meeting was speedily held at La Ferte, the patrimonial estate of Condé ; and soon after another at Nantes. An appeal was made to the Reformed to unite politically for their mutual safety. Agents were sent to visit the provinces in the south

of France in which the Reformed were numerous. They were successful in arousing the whole body to demand and to defend their political rights. A political organization was begun and in about four years completed.

On the business in hand, it was ultimately agreed that a body of unarmed men should appear at the gates of Blois, the residence of the court, and demand leave to present to the King a petition praying for liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of their religion; in other words—to ask for toleration. Small bodies of armed men, advancing by different routes, were to be in the neighbourhood, prepared for an emergency, should the petitioners be unkindly received. The Duke of Condé preceded all, and took his abode at Blois with the court. Renaude, to whom the general management of the embassy was committed, went to Blois to confer with Condé, and from thence to Paris. Confiding the whole design to a citizen of that city, a Reformer of some eminence, he was betrayed, and the Duke of Guise was informed of all the circumstances of the embassy. The King was persuaded to remove to Ambois, and a military force was prepared for the occasion. Renaude met the embassy and led them to Blois; and then followed the King to Ambois. The guards drove them from the gates. While they were waiting in the country for the approach of the armed forces, they were again betrayed. An officer deserted and revealed to the King the names of the leaders, and the roads by which the forces were advancing. Condé was immediately put under guard, and forces were sent to

meet the approaching armed bands. Attacked separately as they advanced and suddenly, these bands were slain or captured, very few escaping. Some of the prisoners were immediately hanged. It is supposed that about twelve hundred men perished in that enterprise. Whether the designs of Condé, with these forces, were merely precautionary, or whether he privately contemplated violence, can not be determined; nor is the decision a matter of importance; the spirit of the age delighted in violence. War was begun. And from this time the court called the party Huguenots and rebels.

Condé asked for a hearing in an assembly of the nobles. His request was granted: the assembly was dissolved without a decision. He was soon after released. As he was departing, Guise made efforts for his arrest. Condé avoided him, and sent word to the King that he would immediately put himself at the head of the Huguenots. A prolonged contest with arms was now inevitable. From this time those favouring the Bourbon line of succession and reform in the Romish church, were called *Huguenots*, as a distinctive party term. Guise, to strengthen himself, proposed to establish the Inquisition in France. The Chancellor Michael Le Hospital, the wisest statesman of the age, and among the wisest France ever produced, was an advocate for toleration. He gave two reasons for his opinion: first, the justice of the thing itself, resting on man's relation to his fellow-men, and to his God; and secondly, the large and increasing number of the Reformers, or Huguenots, who as loyal citizens of France, had equal rights with the Romish

party. Unable to obtain toleration, he proposed that all charges for heresy should be tried and disposed of by the bishops alone, thus separating the power of the State from the persecuting power of the Church. The Romish party complained of this proposition as less advantageous to them than the Inquisition, which blended the two powers, and made the persecution of the Church terrible; the Huguenots thought their cause prejudged by being committed to the Romish clergy for decision, as the Church of Rome had dungeons if she could not take life by public executions. Coligny complained that families were ruined by the Bishop's courts.

The Queen regent called a meeting of the principal persons of the kingdom. They assembled at Fontainebleau in August 1560. The royal family was present with the Cardinals Bourbon and Lorraine, the Duke of Guise and the Constable Montmorency, who came with six hundred horse, putting himself in the position of Condé a few months preceding, the Chancellor Les Hospital, the Admiral Coligny, the Marshalls Brissac and St. André, the Archbishop of Vienne, the Bishops of Orleans and Valence, and many others. The Admiral assured the assembly that the principal discontents arose from the persecution for difference in religion. He presented a petition from Normandy humbly asking redress. "Your petition," said the King, "bears no signatures of names." "True," said Coligny; "but if you will allow us to meet for the purpose, I will in one day obtain fifty thousand in Normandy alone." He concluded his earnest address by asking for full toleration



in religion. A debate ensued. A proposition was made, that the citizens of France should be compelled to conform to the old established Church, or quit the kingdom, with leave to sell their estates. It was carried by three votes. The Chancellor and Huguenot lords showed the unreasonableness of enforcing this resolution, with so small a majority. Two of the bishops declaring they felt the necessity of reformation in the Church, asked for moderate measures, and proposed an assembly of the States for the decision of these matters, to be held on the 13th of December, at Meaux, to be assisted by a national council. To this the meeting agreed.

The Pope sent a nuncio to France to prevent, if possible, a national council; and to promise the reassembling of the Council of Trent. The Queen regent, however, with the young King, endeavoured to persuade the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé to attend the assembly. On account of the charges of exciting the Huguenots of Dauphiny to rebellion, made by Guise against Condé, it was long before they could be prevailed on to promise attendance. In October the royal family removed to Orleans, at which place, by the influence of Guise, the assembly was to be held. About the close of the month the King of Navarre and Condé arrived. Condé was immediately put under guard; and his mother-in-law, Madame Roy, sister of Admiral Coligny, was arrested and sent to St. Germain, on account of the affairs at Ambois. Condé was soon brought to trial by Guise, pronounced guilty of high treason, and condemned to death. His execution was prevented by the sudden

death of the young King, Francis II., who expired on the 5th day of December, 1560, from an abscess in his ear. He died without children; and in his last moments expressed satisfaction that he did not leave infants to expose the country to the evils of a long minority. His beautiful widow, the daughter of a King, and niece of the Duke of Guise, just blooming into womanhood, has, by her after life, excited the sympathy of the readers of history, as Mary, Queen of Scots. The crown passed to Charles IX., the second son of Henry II. and Catherine de Medici—a lad of ten years. The Queen mother, sensible that the question of the regency would now be revived, with great earnestness, set Condé at liberty, and declared him free from the crime for which he had been condemned; and promised the King of Navarre, whom she had beguiled on a former occasion, that he should be Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. By apparently favouring the Huguenots, she maintained her influence in the regency, and in the kingdom, and could carry on her designs for the Romish church.

The States met on the 13th of December. The Chancellor opened the meeting with a speech of great cogency on the ill-policy of persecution, and proposed an abatement of the sufferings of the Huguenots till their complaints could be heard in a national council. Some were for appointing the King of Navarre regent of the kingdom. The Assembly dissolved without coming to any conclusion on subjects that immediately concerned the Huguenots.

In this perplexing position, on the urgent application of many of the Huguenots, the Admiral and

King of Navarre, with the Prince of Condé, presented a petition to the young King. It was referred to the privy council. By them it was laid before parliament. After a discussion on its merits, as involving toleration in religion, an edict was passed in July, 1561, prohibiting all further persecutions on account of religion ; at the same time forbidding the exercise of any other than the Romish religion, either publicly or privately. It was also agreed that a conference between representatives of the Romish church, and of the Reformers, on the doctrines of the two parties, and the necessity of reformation, should be held at Poissy, in the presence of the King and court, with liberty of free discussion.

The conference commenced on the 9th of September, 1561, in the great refectory of the Convent. Cardinal Lorraine appeared for the Romanists, with five other Cardinals, four Bishops, and a number of theologians. Theodore Beza went over from Geneva, upon earnest solicitation, in which John Calvin joined, and appeared for the Reformers, with Peter Martyr and eleven of the most accredited pastors, and with twenty-two representatives of the great body of the Reformed in France. The young King presided. He first took his seat at one end of the refectory, his mother by his side ; and on each side were ranged the princes of the court, with Cardinal Lorraine and his assistants ; all attired in their most splendid robes of office. In front of them was a railing thrown across the refectory, giving to the scene the appearance of a judicial enquiry, instead of the free conference proposed ; in which the advocates of the Romish

church had prevailed upon the young King to give them seats as associate judges. This assumption they claimed through the whole conference; and under it covered, if not their defeat, at least their want of victory.

The door was opened for the Reformers. Beza entered, followed by the twelve pastors and twenty-two representatives. As they proceeded up the great aisle, with gravity, the simple black cloaks and caps of the pastors contrasted with the purple and gold of the prelates; and the plain dress of the representatives, with the splendour of the courtiers. Unexpectedly Beza found his progress arrested by the railing. Aroused by this appearance of a trial, in place of a conference, he stood erect, and looked around upon the King, the Queen mother, the court, the clergy, and their adherents, for a moment; then bowing respectfully to the King, he said, "Sire, our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth." Then bowing the knee, and his companions reverently kneeling around him, he poured forth a confession and prayer.

"Lord God, Father, Eternal and Almighty, we bear in mind and confess before Thy Holy Majesty, that we are poor sinners, born in corruption, inclined to evil, incapable of ourselves to do good, and who transgress every day, and many ways, Thy holy commandments; whereby we bring down upon ourselves, by Thy just judgment, condemnation and death. But, Lord, we are truly grieved that we have offended Thee; and we, condemning ourselves and our sins, with true repentance, turn humbly to Thy grace, and beseech

Thee to relieve our misery. Be pleased to have pity upon us, most glorious God, Father of mercy, and pardon our offences for the sake of Thy Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord. Grant to us, and continually increase in us, the graces of Thine Holy Spirit, so that, knowing more and more of our faults, and being deeply affected by them, we may renounce them with all our hearts, and show forth the fruits of holiness and uprightness that may be acceptable to Thee through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

After this confession, Beza prayed for the King, the kingdom, the Church of God, and all mankind. Then rising, and receiving permission to speak, he delivered a well prepared and condensed statement and defence of the doctrines of the Reformers and necessity of the Reformation. His simplicity of style, and earnestness of manner, gained the undivided attention of the audience. The articles of belief and their superiority over those of Rome, were urged with directness and vigor. It was evident he had much truth on his side; and that his cause was not losing in his hands. The boldness of his assaults upon the doctrines and practices of Rome rejected by the Reformed, was alarming. The Cardinals and Bishops and Theologians could not wait their time to answer; but expressed in various ways their annoyance and increasing displeasure; some even rising to their feet and threatening to depart, that they might hear no more. At the conclusion, all were convinced that the cause of the Reformation was no slight affair, and Beza no common adversary. In due time replies were given, and rejoinders made. Lorraine was the

principal manager for Rome, and Beza for the Reform. Lorraine exhibited his reading, his address and versatility; Beza displayed his learning, ready-wit, and powers of debate, with a spirit both tender and bold. With Calvin's power and comprehension, he had less of the severity of keenness, and more suavity, and was altogether the best man for his position in the whole body of able Reformers. Self-balanced, conscious of right, free from haughtiness, not subject to unmanly fears, frank in debate, bold in his statements and defence of reformation, and winning in his manners, and a master of dialectics, he did all man could do for the Reform, and was unanswered if not unanswerable. When in the conference, he exclaimed, with uplifted hands and strong voice, "The body of Jesus Christ is as far from bread and wine as heaven is from earth," the prelates sprung to their feet and clamored. But the impression was general, and not easily dissipated. The conference was not closed till some time in November. Its proceedings were in various forms of papers offered, propositions made, discussions and interviews. Beza and Lorraine had a private and extended interview. All attempts to entangle Beza were vain. One day Lorraine presented some extracts from the Augsburg Articles on the subject of transubstantiation, and asked Beza to sign them, saying, "There can be no objection." "Your Eminence will commence the subscription," said Beza. "Not I," exclaimed Lorraine; "I am not bound to subscribe to the declaration of any Master." Catherine, the Queen mother, insisted on a common formula. One was presented, which Beza, in his honesty, and

Lorraine, in his versatility, accepted; but the others rejected as incompatible.

During the conference, Coligny, at the request of Beza, presented a list of the Reformed congregations. The number was 2050. Beza preached repeatedly at Poissy, and with great success. The conference came to a close. No decision was made by the King and council, which shows that the Reformers, were not answered, and the court was not ready to do them justice.

Margaret, the sister of the young King, and afterwards the wife of Henry IV., whose wedding was connected with the Bartholomew massacre, says, in her observations on this conference: "At the time of the Colloquy at Poissy, all the court was inclined to the new religion, by the earnest persuasion of many lords and ladies of the court; and especially my brother Anjou, (Henry III.) whose infancy could not avoid an impression of that religion. He, with incessant importunity, did call upon me to change my religion, after casting my howries into the fire, and in their stead giving me the Psalms and prayers of the Huguenots, constraining me to take them." She adds that the Bishop of Tournan speedily supplied her howries, giving her counsel and advice; and that some friends of her brother, anxious to preserve her from the influence of the Bishop, and her governess, reproved her strongly, and said, "It was mere childishness and folly that made me do so; and that it did well appear I had no capacity; that all those of any discretion, of whatever age or sex they were, hearing grace preached, were retired from the abuses of the

old superstition. But I, they said, was as very a fool as my governess."

Beza remained in France about two years, and preached with great acceptance. The Reformed embraced the edict of July, which forbid all persecution for religion's sake. Their meetings for public worship, in the city of Paris, were often very large, amounting to thousands, protected by armed men, the women being placed in the centre. About the close of the year, after the conference at Poissy, a disturbance took place in the suburbs of St. Marsel. A congregation of Huguenots assembled in a garden near a Catholic chapel. When the minister began to preach, the bells of the church began to ring. The congregation sent persons to entreat the priests to command silence in the belfry. One of the messengers was killed in the fray that followed. The congregation rushed into the chapel, beat down the images, and threatened to set fire to the steeple unless the annoyance ceased. On the next day the seats where the Huguenots worshipped were burned. A council was called by the Queen mother, and an edict issued January 2d, 1562, granting the Huguenots the free exercise of their religion, in the country, and in the suburbs of all the cities, provided the worshippers went unarmed.

While the Huguenots were rejoicing in this liberty, Antony, King of Navarre, was beguiled by the Queen regent, the pope's legate, and the Spanish ambassador to believe that his regency and the prospects of his family for the throne, should the house of Valois fail, would be greater, and his claims less disputed were he to profess



the Romish faith. The Pope's legate proposed that he should divorce his wife, Jean De Albert, mother of the young prince, afterwards Henry IV., and marry the widowed Queen of Scots. The Spanish ambassador offered him either Navarre restored as a kingdom, or a new one in Africa. There was to be a public dispute; in it the Huguenot champion was to yield to the Romish, and Antony to profess conversion. In the event he professed himself reconciled to the Romish church, had a post in the council, and took his residence in Paris. The Queen mother was all this time plotting to secure the crown for her daughter, Claude, who had married the Duke of Lorraine and had children, alarmed by the declaration of an astrologer that her sons would die without issue and the crown would pass to the Bourbon line. Antony of Navarre began to act against the Huguenots of Paris. He invited the Duke of Guise, with whom he had become reconciled, to come to Paris and assist him.

Beza visited Paris and preached to great crowds in the open air; once it is said to not less than forty thousand, and seldom to less than eight thousand. The confession he uttered at the opening of the conference became very popular, and was called Beza's Confession. It was, however, in all probability drawn up by Calvin as a form and example of confession, and was widely circulated among the congregations. It is in use among the Reformed in France to this day, for their public confession of sins.

Cardinal Lorraine said many things in favour of the Bible as God's word, and even declared his approba-

tion of the Augsburg Confession. The Duke of Guise, who soon shed the blood of the Reformed at Vassy, gave assurance that he would favour the Reformed in France, and even adopt the Augsburg Confession, the popular creed of the Protestants of Germany, if the Huguenots would advocate his claims to the crown, instead of defending the Bourbon line. Like Antony of Navarre and Henry IV., in view of the glittering crown of France, he would adopt the religion most likely to gain him the greatest aid in obtaining the prize for himself and his house.

Beza remonstrated with Antony of Navarre on the strangeness of his course in permitting himself to be tampered with, about a divorce, and a new kingdom, and a change of the religion he had professed. Antony professed to think that the form of religion was of small account, and that the mass of men might be moulded to any form their skilful leader desired. "Ah, sire," said Beza, "remember the Church is an anvil on which many a hammer has been broken." Antony's race was soon run; he died of wounds received in the first siege undertaken against the Huguenots.

In March of this year (1562) the Duke of Guise passed through Vassy, on his way to Paris, by the invitation of Antony, with a great retinue. Some of his followers provoked a quarrel with a congregation of Huguenots worshipping in a barn. Blood was shed. The Duke ordered his men to fire upon the people. The congregation was dispersed, leaving sixty dead and two hundred wounded. The Duke himself had received a wound. This was the first

blood shed in the reign of Charles IX. by the Huguenots in defence of their religious worship, granted them by the edict of January. The news of this assault spread over the country rapidly. All France was excited. The Duke of Condé, the Chancellor, and the Admiral applied to the Queen mother for redress, but in vain. The King of Navarre publicly justified the Duke for the assault made, as was alleged, to repel an insult offered to his train in Vassy ; and, with the Duke, took possession of the royal family, conducted them to Paris, and garrisoned the city. The Huguenots took possession of Orleans. Orders were given at Paris to burn all the houses in the suburbs in which the Huguenots had held worship. In effecting this order a number of Reformed preachers were slain, and others were thrown into prison.

It is reported of the Duke of Guise, that at the massacre at Vassy, a book, picked up near the place of Huguenot worship, was handed him ; looking at it, he handed it to his brother, the Cardinal Lorraine. "There is no harm in that," said the Cardinal, "it is the Bible." "The Bible !" said the Duke, "that was written fifteen hundred years ago, and this book was printed last year."

The Admiral, Coligny, with a great number of officers, and gentlemen, and soldiers, repaired to Orleans. Condé was declared chief. A manifesto was issued, declaring that they were compelled to take up arms to redress the wrong done the King by the late seizure, and maintain the edict of January, which had been violated ; and that they were resolved to die together for the liberty of the King and his family, and

the preservation of the laws. The Queen mother used all her address to draw off Condé, as she had the King of Navarre. Conferences were held, but in vain. Both sides prepared for battle. Rouen, fortified by the Huguenots, was attacked. Taken by assault, the town was delivered up to the fury of the soldiers and plundered for eight days. The King of Navarre received a wound, from the effects of which he died in a few days. The Duke of Nevers was also slain. The whole court were present at the siege.

The flames of civil war spread over the land and scenes of cruelty and blood were enacted that can be justified by no provocation. Marshall Montluc details, with savage delight, the cruelties he exercised upon the Huguenots of Guienne. On the 18th of December, 1562, the battle of Dreux was gained by the party that had possession of the young king. The commanders of each army, Condé and Montmorency, were taken prisoners. In the beginning of the year 1563, Orleans was besieged. On the 18th of February, Guise was mortally wounded. A soldier named Poltrot entered the army as a deserter, and after watching his opportunity for three days, shot him with three poisoned balls. On his examination, Poltrot impeached the Admiral, Rochefoucault and Beza. Afterwards he declared the Admiral innocent. The family of Guise affected to believe the impeachment, and never forgave the Admiral; and on the fatal eve of St. Bartholomew satisfied their vengeance with his blood. On the ninth of March following, a treaty was concluded, allowing the Huguenots the free exer-

cise of their religion in every town throughout the kingdom, except Paris.

In the beginning of 1564, the Queen mother and the young King began a journey through the provinces for his instruction and improvement. She had persuaded the parliament at Rouen to declare that Charles IX. had arrived at his majority, then thirteen and one half years old; the parliament of Paris having declared that his minority continued till he was fourteen years of age. They spent a year in the provinces on the borders of Germany, and, at the commencement of the year 1565, reached Languedoc. There they passed the Carnival. The Queen of Spain, the eldest sister of the King, with the Duke of Alva, met them at Bayonne.

Amid a continual round of feasts and tournaments, the Queen mother and the Duke discussed the best means of carrying into effect the secret treaty of Henry II. and Philip of Spain. It was agreed that Charles IX. should act in concert with Philip in fulfilling the provisions of the treaty. Alva proposed that Charles should immediately seize the chief men of the Huguenots and strike off their heads. The Queen mother thought that proceeding unadvisable at that time. The mother and daughter parting, Charles and his mother visited the Queen of Navarre. All their efforts to bring the newly widowed Queen to the faith of Rome proved vain. Toleration of the Romish church in her dominions was granted, together with the restoration of the lands that had been taken from the Romish clergy. The artful Queen mother gained one advantage over the young widow by persuading

her, with her son Henry, to accompany herself and her son, Charles IX., to Paris.

The personal religion of the young Queen of Navarre, Jean D'Albert, was much improved by her reflections accompanying the death of her mother, Margaret, the sister of Francis I. The circumstances attending her husband's first visit to the court of France, and the bewildering influence exercised upon him by the Queen mother, and more particularly his appointment by her as Lieutenant-General of France, followed by his embracing the Romish faith, aroused the spirit of enquiry in his wife. The subject of reform in the Romish church, together with the doctrines and practices and forms of worship proposed by the Reformers, and embraced by the Huguenots, were carefully examined in their personal bearings and political relations. In conclusion, her previous predilections for her mother's faith became abiding principles. She was a Huguenot in heart and by profession. In her future course she was undeviating in her attachment to the principles of Reform. With less cunning and tact in the management of men, but with vastly more elevated principles of action toward God and man, she persued her plans for the reform and advancement of her kingdom, with a perseverance not surpassed by the Queen mother in her efforts for the destruction of the Huguenots, and for the succession of the crown of France to pass to a Romish line, in case of the failure of her own house. For ages France was swayed for good and for evil by her Queens and the women of the court. Their principles, their

fancies, their passions were predominant in deciding the fate of the kingdom.

The Queen mother used religion as a state engine; and might have been a Protestant had her interests seemed to be more involved with the Reformed than with the Romanists. Jean D'Albert was a Protestant from conviction. Religion was to her a reality of immeasurable importance. It took deep hold of her heart. The principles of the Reformed swayed her judgment and her feelings. "If," said she, on an occasion that called forth her sentiments, "if I held in my hand the kingdom of Navarre and the Prince, my son, I would sooner cast them both into the sea than partake of the mass." In her will, she says to her son, quoting from the Bible: "The Lord saith, them that honour Me I will honour, they that despise Me shall be lightly esteemed." Having in her right as Queen of Navarre forbidden in her dominions the exercise of any other religion than the Reformed, and having deprived the clergy of their livings, she was persuaded to declare toleration in her kingdom and to restore to the Romish clergy their lands; and at the request of the Queen mother of France, set an example of queenly moderation and excellence which that Queen mother would not, could not follow. In yielding to the request to visit Paris with her son, the Queen of Navarre was beguiled.

The Queen of Navarre, her son, Prince Henry, and her daughter Elizabeth, accompanied King Charles and his mother to Paris. The Prince was now about twelve years of age, agreeable, polite,

obliging and easy in his manner, and very respectful in his conversation. His countenance was open and prepossessing, his hair a little red and his face finely shaped, his eyes full of sweetness, his skin brown, but clear, and all his features were animated with uncommon vivacity. This heir apparent of the French crown, the son of Anthony De Bourbon and Jean D'Albert, Queen of Navarre, was born December 13, 1553. His grandfather, Henry D'Albert, exacted a promise from his daughter, Jean, to sing a song to him while in labour, "in order," said he, "that you may bring me a child that will neither weep nor make wry faces." The daughter fulfilled her promise, singing a song in her native Bearnois. Henry entered as soon as the child was born, and took him, before he uttered a cry, and carrying him to his apartment, rubbed his little lips with a bit of garlic, and made him suck some wine from a golden cup "to make his constitution vigorous." The child grew up at the castle Coarasse, in Bearne, amid rocks and mountains. His grandfather would have him clothed and fed like the children of that country; and accustomed him to run up and down the rocks, often going bare-footed and bare-headed. His ordinary food was brown bread, beef, cheese and garlic. In the cradle he was called Prince of Viane. Soon after he had the title of Duke of Beaumont, and then Prince of Navarre. His education was carefully attended to by his mother. La Gaucherei, a learned man and a Calvinist, was appointed his preceptor. While a young child, he was presented to Henry II., the cousin of his mother. "Will you be my son?" said the King. The



little prince, pointing to his father, said, in Bearnois, "He is my father." "Then will you be my son-in-law?" "Oh," said the little prince, "with all my heart." After a visit of about a year, Queen Jean and her children returned to Navarre. In his early youth, he says of himself, he only thought of being King of Navarre, and of regaining from the King of Spain the domains of his ancestors. An observation of this prince, during the visit of King Charles at his mother's court, was never forgotten by Condé and the Admiral Coligny. The young prince, being much with the Queen mother, heard something of the plot to exterminate the Huguenots. He repeated it to his mother with the expression: "One salmon is worth many little fish;" and she communicated the saying of the child to Coligny and Condé. The comparison was not lost upon them. An apprehension of some fearful design by the Queen mother for the ruin of themselves and their adherents influenced them in all their plans and movements in after life. The cloud of mystery was occasionally rent before the Eve of St. Bartholomew.

The Queen mother now attempted a reconciliation between the family of Guise and that of Chatillon, that she might induce Condé and Coligny to reside at court. In 1566 she convened all the parliaments of the kingdom at Maulins. The general affairs of the kingdom being arranged, she attempted the reconciliation of the two families. Her address seemed equal to the design. The conclusion was greater exasperation than ever. She ordered both parties to quit the court; and retained the Marshal Montgomery, and

also the Cardinal Lorraine, who was possessed of all her secrets respecting the Huguenots, being the promoter of the treaty on which her plans were formed. The Romish party manifested increasing dissatisfaction at the privileges of the Huguenots; and the Huguenots strenuously asserted their right to free toleration.

At the request of Admiral Coligny, the German Protestant princes sent an embassy to Charles IX., to entreat him to allow the Huguenots full liberty in the exercise of their religion. This embassy, and the bold language of the Admiral and Condé, irritated the King. After an interview with Coligny about the Huguenots, he returned to his mother's apartment in a violent passion, and said to her, "It is no use to dissemble; the opinion of the Duke of Alva is right." He referred to the opinion at Bayonne.

The Duke of Alva, on his way to the Netherlands, in 1567, with his small but well-appointed army, passed along the borders of France. The King collected forces ostensibly to guard his kingdom from any violence from the Spaniard. The Huguenots, suspecting the real object, made offers by their own forces, to drive back the foreigners, or destroy them in the mountain passes, saying the Spaniards made all their conquests under the mask of friendship. The King, not wishing Alva to be disturbed, and resolved on collecting an army, refused the offer, and continued gathering forces under pretence of fear of invasion.

In an assembly of the Huguenots, held in the summer, at St. Valery, information was circulated that

the court had resolved to arrest the Admiral Coligny, and the Prince Condé, and had other severe measures in contemplation. The Assembly separated without determining upon any course of action. The Huguenots, comprehending all that favoured the Bourbon succession, and those that desired reform in the Romish church, were becoming organized as a political body, under the influence of two examples: the provincial parliaments of France, of which there were thirteen in the kingdom, and the form of discipline and government of the Reformed French Church, to which all that made pretension to piety belonged. From both they learned independence and separate action; from the latter, individual representation and unity of organization. The court expected to move the people through the feudal officers, and the confessional; the Huguenots by their popular assemblies. To the Huguenots, the political movements were a novelty; and the seat of power was not yet accurately defined. As the Assembly at St. Valery had not proposed a course of action, the leading men held a conference at Chatillon. They resolved to prepare for war in all ways, and as speedily as possible. The Admiral proposed to seize the King and Queen mother, who were then at Monceaux. The conference agreed. The 27th of September was named as the day for the chiefs to assemble at Rosé with all their cavalry. Their counsels were betrayed to the Queen mother. The court fled to Meaux for the protection of the Swiss troops. Feeling unsafe, they set out for Paris under their care; and, though greatly pressed by Condé and the Admiral, all arrived

in safety, except the Cardinal Lorraine, who left his carriage and fled through bye-paths. Paris was immediately besieged; and early in October the Huguenots were at the very walls. The greatest efforts were made by both parties for reinforcements and supplies.

A great battle was fought at St. Dennis on the eve of St. Martin's. The Constable, in his 78th year, at the head of the royal army, was mortally wounded, and died the next day. The Huguenots remained one day at St. Dennis to care for the dead and wounded. They then withdrew to wait for the coming of some German allies. The junction was formed on the 11th of January, 1568. Coligny pressed the royalists vigorously, disconcerting all their plans. The King became discouraged, and proposed terms of peace, yielding to the Huguenots all their demands for toleration in religion, both in public and private worship, on condition of disbanding their forces, delivering up the towns they had taken, and no more associations to be formed, and no more money to be levied. The treaty was signed at Longjumeau in March, and proclaimed at Paris. This treaty was fatal to Coligny. He could never again obtain as favourable an opportunity of entirely routing the Guises, and settling the affairs of the Huguenots on a firm foundation. The Queen mother beguiled him with a treaty that depended on her will to execute, when just before him was a treaty to be made she could not fail to execute. A kind-hearted, brave old man, honest, frank, he could not believe, or perhaps fathom, the duplicity of the Queen mother.

She never rested till his blood atoned for her disgraceful flight.

The King, the Queen mother, and the Guises had made peace only that they might wrest from the Huguenots the advantages of victory, and might prepare for war. Their activity alarmed Condé and the Admiral. They assembled forces at Rochelle, and in September the Queen of Navarre and Prince Henry came there with three thousand infantry and four hundred horse. The king repealed all the edicts in favour of the Huguenots, displaced all that were in his employ, prohibited the exercise of their religion, and ordered all their ministers to leave France. The armies under the Admiral and the Duke of Anjou, met at Aubeterre. The Huguenots gained the advantage. The armies retired to winter quarters. The Queen of England sent money, artillery, and ammunition to Rochelle, to aid the Huguenots. Hostilities were renewed early in the year 1569. In March was fought the battle of Jarnac. The Prince of Condé went into battle with one arm in a sling, and one leg fractured by the kick of a horse; and bore down everything before him till his horse received a fatal shot. An officer named Argis received his sword, and removed him a little space from the battle. Sitting, faint from wounds received in the thickest of the fight, and defenceless, the Baron De Montesquieu, captain of the Duke of Anjou's guards, came upon him and shot him dead. The battle was gained by the royalists. The Huguenots were entirely routed. Their greatest loss was in their valiant young leader, cut down in his fortieth year.

During the summer another fierce battle was fought at Moncauteur, after many skirmishes and small encounters at other places. The Huguenots, reinforced by German troops, were entirely successful in the early part of the battle. The Admiral broke through the van of Anjou's army. Prince Henry of Navarre, stationed on a hill at a short distance, seeing that the Admiral was not reinforced, cried out, "We are losing our advantage, and we shall lose the battle." The Admiral was wounded in the cheek; the German forces gave way, and the army was routed, with the loss of eight thousand men and all the baggage of the Germans. The military errors of the Duke of Anjou saved the Huguenot army from entire ruin, and the Huguenot party from a complete overthrow.

The court supposed the Huguenots were annihilated; and were greatly surprised in the spring of 1570 to find them in arms, crossing the Rhone, routing the royalists, and halting for refreshment in the country of the Bourgeois. Speedily the news reached them that Prince Henry of Navarre, in the sickness of the Admiral, had met the Marshal Copé and the Duke of Anjou after an unsuccessful attempt upon Rochelle, and had gained an advantage over them both. The court were alarmed, and sent commissioners to treat for peace. The negotiations lasted till August; and ended in a treaty confirming and granting to the Huguenots full liberty of conscience, the public profession of their religion, with all other privileges conceded in former treaties. Four towns, Rochelle, which kept the sea open for succours from England, La Charité,

which kept the passage of the Loire, Montaubon, which commanded the frontiers of Leanguedoc, and Cognac, which opened the passage into Angoumois, were given as hostages for two years; then to be delivered up provided the articles of the treaty were observed by the King.

While Alva, with his great abilities, stubborn will and heart of steel, was striving, with a military force, to carry into effect in the Netherlands, a part of the dominions of Spain, the agreement made by the Spanish King Philip II., with Henry II. of France, and renewed with the Queen mother and Charles IX. by Alva himself; the Low Countries were deluged with blood. The King of France, the Queen mother, and the Guises, despairing of success by military force, began by treaty to cut off the Huguenots by guile and massacre. For two years the King and Queen mother professed themselves satisfied with the terms of the treaty. They were all the time employed in efforts to accomplish three things: 1st. To gain the confidence of the Huguenots by promises and words of compliment. They were unbounded in their admiration of the qualities and skill of their leaders, particularizing, with taste and judgment, the excellencies of each; and, mourning over the desolations of France, they encouraged every effort for the restoration of her strength and peace. 2d. To gather along the coast a fleet, under pretence of a descent upon some part of the dominions of Spain, to revenge upon King Philip the wrongs of Elizabeth, the sister of Charles, and wife of Philip, whose sufferings and death were shrouded in mystery, with charges of dis-

honour; and 3d, by spies, and deputations under various pretences, and careful observations, to discover the designs that might be cherished and ripening into action at Rochelle, the residence of Prince Henry of Navarre, his mother Jean D'Albert, and the Admiral Coligny. The King insinuated that he was afraid of the Guises: that he preferred the princes of the blood. He met Teligny, son-in-law of the Admiral, and three other commissioners of the Huguenots, at Blois; and upon their accompanying him to Paris, loaded them with presents. Infringements of the treaty were severely punished; and Marshal Montmorency was sent to Rouen to redress the outrages that had been committed there upon the persons and property of the inhabitants.

While the wars and treaties, which have been detailed, were progressing, the Reformed French Church was constantly increasing in numbers. The National Synod, which represented the whole Church, met with regularity. The meeting for formation had been held at Paris in May 1559. In the second meeting, held at Poitiers, March 1560, it was determined that, in taking the vote, in national and provincial synods, on matters of faith, or doctrine, or practice, the votes given by elders shall not exceed in number those given by pastors. In other cases all the votes may be gathered, though the number of the elders present shall exceed the number of pastors. As soon as possible he that gathers a church, or association of believers, "shall take the names of those who will submit to discipline, and are to be owned as sheep of that flock, and over these there shall be had a most



diligent inspection." This Synod advised the churches in each province to send some person, at common expense, to remain at court, to attend to the affairs of the churches of that province; and that these deputies seek some proper opportunity to present the Confession of the Reformed French Church to the King. Of this Synod, Le Baillem was President.

The Third National Synod was held at Orleans, April 1562; and had for its President Anthony Chandieu, minister at Paris, and writer of the Confession. Permission was given to the Huguenot nobility to have a church organization in their houses, composed of their own families, their domestics and retainers, provided they can obtain pastors, and have proper persons for elders and deacons. "Ministers shall not use any prayers at the burial of the dead." A Treatise on Christian Discipline and Policy, by John Morelly, was pronounced unworthy of circulation.

In the Fourth National Synod, held at Lyons, August 1563, Peter Viret, pastor at the place, was President. "The churches were admonished to make a faithful collection of all notable and remarkable passages of divine Providence which have happened in their precincts," these to be sent to Geneva. Beza was invited to draw up a protestation against the Council of Trent, with reasons, to be presented by the ministers of the court to his majesty. The Provincial Synods were arranged: 1st. The Isle of France; 2d. Burgundy, Lyonnois, Forest, and Auvergne; 3d. Dolphiny, Languedoc, and Provence; 4th. Poitou and Santonge; 5th. Gascony, Limousin and Agenon; 6th. Britian, Turenne, Anjou, and

Le Maine; 7th. Normandy; 8th. Berry, Orleans, and Chartres.

The Fifth National Synod was held at Paris, December, 1565, and Nicholas De Galars, minister at Orleans, the President. Lords and gentlemen to be censured, according to the discipline of the Church, for entertaining scandalous persons in their house, or suffering priests to sing mass. The churches warned about a book, *Unio Quator Evangelistarum*, written by Charles Du Maulin, on account of the errors in it about Limbus, free will, the sin against the Holy Ghost, the Lord's supper, and the calling of ministers.

The Sixth National Synod was held at Vertueil, in Augremois, September 1567, De L' Estre, President. Determined that a deaf and dumb man may be admitted to the Lord's supper, if his life correspond with the profession he makes by signs. Letters from Geneva, and particularly from Calvin, in answer to questions of former Synod, put on record.

The Seventh National Synod was held at Rochelle, April 1571; and Theodore Beza, Minister of Geneva, was President. Resolved: "Forasmuch as the kind reception and entertainment of Christian doctrine is the true foundation of Church discipline, we have decreed to open the Synod by reading the Confession of Faith received in the churches in France." There were present, as attendants upon the Synod, Jean Queen of Navarre, her son Henry Prince of Navarre, Henry De Bourbon Prince of Condé, Louis Count of Nassau, and Sir Gaspar Count Coligny, Admiral of France. "The Synod decreed that without any additions, there should be three copies of the Confes-

sion, fairly written out on parchment, whereof one should be kept in this city of Rochelle, another in Bearne and the third at Geneva, and that all three should be subscribed by the ministers and elders, deputies from the provinces of this kingdom, in the name of all the churches. Moreover, her majesty, the Queen of Navarre, and my Lords, the Prince of Navarre and Condé, and the other Lords here present in the Synod, are also requested to subscribe with their own hands." The Discipline of the Church having been under discussion in all the previous Synods, and by all the ministers and elders of the Church of France, was examined by this Synod; and, "was in all its heads and articles approved by the said deputies, who in their own names, and for the churches, did promise and protest, to keep and observe it for the edification of the Church, the conservation of order, and their mutual union, that God might be the better glorified by them." In answer to questions by the Queen of Navarre, she was advised to reject those traitors who forsook her in her necessities, and cruelly persecuted God's saints in the late troubles; and not to sell her offices, or bestow them on recommendation of others, without her own personal knowledge of the qualifications and abilities of those who are to discharge them.

The 8th National Synod was held at Nismes, in Languedoc, and John De La Place was President. The books of Cosain were put in the hands of Beza to read and make report. Messrs. Beza, De Roche, Chandieu, and De Beaulieu were chosen to reply to Ramus, Du Rosier and Bergeron, whose works con-

trovert the Reformed discipline. This session was continued only two days.

The Confession of Faith was settled at the first meeting. The Book of Discipline was completed at the seventh meeting, after years of careful examination; and is not surpassed in clearness, and purity and adherence to Scripture by the discipline of any church of Christ. By the decision made on questions that came up to Synod respecting promises of marriage, marriage vows, divorce, prolonged absence, and other matters belonging to domestic life, a high standard of domestic purity, on Scripture principles, was set up in France, in the presence of a lascivious court. The Huguenots understood well that pure religion and pure families went together; that pure wives and chaste daughters made chaste husbands and pure sons, and that it was better that some ill-mated ones should suffer from incongenial tempers than marriage promises and marriage vows be sundered, or lightly esteemed: that the only reason for divorce is the one given by Christ.

Beza says in a letter, that at this time the Reformed French Church could count above two thousand one hundred and fifty churches, and in some of these were above ten thousand members; and that in very many there were two ministers, and in some five. The Church of Orleans had in 1561 seven thousand members, and had for pastors, Anthony Chanoiret, Lord of Merangeau, Robert Maion, Lord Des Fontaines, Hugh Sureau, Nicholas Filler, Lord of Valls, and Daniel Tassane. At the time of the Colloquy of Poissy, in 1561, there were in the province of Nor-

mandy three hundred and five pastors of churches, and in Provence, sixty. The King of France, Charles IX., addressed a letter to the Pope in 1565, the year the National Synod met in Paris the second time, in which he says: "A fourth part of the kingdom is separated from the church, which fourth part consists of gentlemen, men of letters, chief burgesses in cities, and such of the common people as have seen most of the world, and are practised in arms. So that the said separated persons have no lack of force, having among them an infinite number of gentlemen, and many old soldiers of long experience in war. Neither do they lack good counsel, having among them three parts of the men of letters. Neither do they lack money, having among them a great part of the good wealthy families, both of the nobility and the *tier de etat*." To this Charles might have added that he and his mother had good evidence that the Huguenots were brave in war, and led by able commanders, were firm in their purpose, and, as a body, true to their confession.

The increasing numbers and influence of the Huguenots, and the daily development of the physical powers and mental abilities of the young prince of Navarre, the Bourbon heir to the crown, alarmed and distressed the Queen Mother. With an increased desire for the destruction of the Reformed, and no less aversion to the Bourbons, she sought an alliance with Prince Henry, that the crown in departing from the Valois, should still be allied to herself. He might be persuaded to become a Romanist, and the Huguenots might be destroyed, and the Guises, whom she did

not love, might be foiled in their efforts for royalty. In 1571, she sent Marshall Copé as commissioner of compliment and conference to the court of the Queen of Navarre. He bore kind messages from the Queen Mother; he expatiated on the distress felt by her for the sad dishonor of her daughter Elizabeth in the house of her husband, Philip of Spain; he spoke much of the prospects and glory of France. Finally, he proposed to the Queen marriage between her son, prince Henry, and Margaret, the youngest sister of King Charles; they had been playmates in childhood and were attached; their union would unite France, and end the claims of the Guises to the crown; and finally, this alliance would assist the Prince in his darling project of regaining the inheritance of his ancestors from the king of Spain. The Queen of Navarre received the proposition coldly. From time to time it was renewed. The King of France urged the marriage, promised four hundred thousand crowns as the dowry of his sister. A match was proposed between the young prince of Condé and the third heiress of Cleves; and one was proposed for the Admiral Coligny and the Countess of Egremont, the King promising the Admiral a dowry of a hundred thousand crowns, to which were added the benefices which had been enjoyed by the Cardinal De Bourbon. At the same time, the Queen was confidentially informed that the King had determined to make the Admiral the commander of the army for the recovery of Flanders and Artois, with the title of Viceroy of the Low Countries, with liberty to choose the general officers of the army. The Queen of Navarre was not favourable to this

scheme, either as a whole or in part; it might affect the interests of her kingdom and of the Reformed religion; she dreaded the influence of the Queen Mother and her daughter over her son; the court of France had been the author of her greatest troubles; the men of age and experience in her court were against it, and many thought an alliance with England, or one of the Protestant States of Germany greatly to be preferred. Coligny was not ready to accept the offers made him to wipe off the disgrace of his captivity at St. Quentin, in a former war with Spain; he feared the immeasurable duplicity of the French court. The Queen Mother persevered in her work of deception with consummate skill. The young Prince Henry was enamoured by prospects before him; young Condé was captivated with the anticipated honours of the splendid court of Charles. One after another the young men of the court became friends of the alliance. By the skilful management of the commissioner, and the unlimited offers of the Queen Mother, the scheme for the alliance of the two branches of the family of St. Louis prevailed. The marriage was agreed upon.

The next subject of discussion was the place of the marriage. On this also, the Queen Mother finally prevailed, against all precedent and opposition. She determined it should be at Paris, and gained the consent of the young men of the court of Navarre by her fascinating pictures of the feasting and entertainments that should grace the nuptials.

Then came the last, apparently trivial, yet, in the Queen Mother's plans, the most important circumstance, the attendance of the Huguenot nobles on the

ceremonies and festivities of the wedding. They were not inclined to go to Paris; it had always been the centre of the greatest opposition to the Reformed, and equally so to the political party involved in the name Huguenot; the duplicity of past years might be renewed; they would rather spend the summer on their estates. The father of the famous Sully often said: "If the nuptials are celebrated at Paris, the bridal favours will be crimson;" and he prepared to shut himself in Rochelle, as a place more safe than even his country home.

It was impossible for the Queen Mother, with her long practice at deception, or the Cardinal Lorraine, with his great address and modesty in double-dealing, or the King, with the inheritance of his mother's acts of intrigue beyond his years, to prosecute this scheme of gaining the confidence of the Huguenots by apparent truth and adherence to the treaty, and of preparing themselves and the country for a massacre, without sometimes dropping the mask. The King had been heard to say, "Do I not play my part well?" the Queen Mother answered, "Very well, my son; but you must hold out to the end." And then there was the shutting of the gates of Bordeaux against the Prince of Navarre; the attempt to seize the gates of Rochelle; the rendezvousing of the fleet near that same city; the negotiations of the court with Alva in 1565, and the revelations made there; and last, the removal from office of the great chancellor, Le Hospital, for refusing to seal an edict revoking some privilege of the Huguenots, and for proposing to act according to law with the aggressors at Rouen, and



Dieppe, and other places, so that all the posts at court were held by enemies of the Huguenots.

The Queen Mother plead that a great number of the nobles, members of the Romish and adherents of the court, would grace the nuptial ceremonies, and that it was proper that full representation of the Huguenots should accompany the young Prince. She prevailed. The young nobility were rejoicing and the old nobility desponding in their anticipations. There was the honour of the young Prince with the deceitfulness of the old Queen.

The reception of the Queen of Navarre, her children, her servants, the gentlemen of her court, the suite of the young Prince and the accompanying noblemen, at Paris, was all that expectation had fancied at a splendid court. The excess of prodigality in expense alarmed some of the nobles; they could not forget the wonderful power of dissimulation of the Queen Mother. The King was profuse in his compliments with his noble visitors. The Admiral, to whom he had written a special invitation to come to Paris, he called his father, held frequent interviews with him, asked his advice, and listened to his political councils with the greatest interest; appeared to be convinced of the soundness of the opinions, of one whom all France esteemed the best statesman of the day, because he was honest; and gave alarm to his mother by the frequency of their visits, and the apparently growing attachment of the young King to the upright, fair dealing old man. The simplicity and clearness of the Admiral's conversation was winning the heart of Charles. There was a novelty in his

honesty that charmed one who had all his life seen and known nothing but deception and intrigue. She trembled lest her son should be persuaded to believe on the Admiral's word the very thing she had held up as a lure to the Huguenots, that the marriage in expectation ought and must consolidate the kingdom; that if he or his brothers had heirs for the crown, this union of the Bourbon line by marriage would strengthen the house of Valois, by bringing to its support the strong party of the Huguenots, who would be faithful to him and defend him against all enemies if he would permit them, by being acknowledged as his subjects on equal footing with the rest of the citizens of France. Charles could not see that the Admiral would gain anything for himself by this view of the condition of the country; but he could see how he himself and all France, but his mother and the Guises, would be inexpressibly improved; and that if he could make the Huguenots his friends, it would a thousand fold outweigh their massacre. The Admiral was the only person to whom Charles ever listened that gave him this advice and these views.

The Pope sent his nephew, as legate, to oppose the marriage. Charles heard the legate's message and his reasons. He took him by the hand and said: "I entirely agree with what you say, and am thankful to you and the Pope for your advice; if I had any other means than this marriage of taking vengeance on my enemies, I would not permit it; but I have not." The Queen of Navarre came in as the legate went away. Charles said to her, in reference to the Cardinal: "I have treated the monk who came to break

off the match as he deserved. I give my sister, not to the Prince of Navarre, but to the Huguenots, to remove from their minds all doubts about the peace. My aunt, I honour you more than the Pope, and I love my sister more than I fear him. And, if Mr. Pope does not mend his manners, I will myself give away Margery in full conventicle."

In the midst of the preparations for the wedding, the Queen of Navarre died after an illness of five days. It was known that she was sick, and had been greatly mortified at being compelled to kneel to the Host, on Corpus Christi day; but no fatal consequences were anticipated. The Huguenots indulged the suspicion of poison administered by some practised hand. There was no proof; but the time and place were unfortunate. The court of France went into deep mourning at an event which seemed the triumph of the Queen Mother over the Queen of Navarre. The preparations for the wedding went on.

The day appointed for the marriage, the 18th of August, arrived. The King had determined that the ceremonies should be performed in a way not entirely conformable to the rites of either church; not to the Reformed, because the vows were to be received by the Cardinal Bourbon; not to the Romish, because the vows were to be received without the sacrament. The Cardinal remonstrated at the simplicity of the ceremony. The King administered a rebuke, and the Cardinal submitted. The ceremony was performed on a platform in front of the principal entry of the church of Paris. The bridegroom retired to a meeting to hear a sermon; the bride went into the church

to hear Mass, according to the marriage articles. Both went to the entertainment in the great hall of the palace. The feasting and rejoicings were continued day after day.

Reports alarmed the Huguenots. The Bishop of Valence, departing on his embassy to Poland, received communications from the King which he reported as revealing the intended destruction of the Huguenots while the marriage festivals progressed. Letters had been intercepted from Cardinal Peline to Cardinal Lorraine at Rome, unfolding the whole mystery. Conferences had been held by the Queen Mother, Cardinal Alexandrin, nephew of Pope Pius V., the Duke De Retz, the Chancellor Birague, and the Guises in their masks. The defeat of Gonlis and La Nave, who had been sent to the low countries under pretence of aid to the Prince of Orange, was declared to have been intentional and according to the designs, and with the connivance of the French court. The Huguenots expressed their alarms in various ways, but were undecided in their councils.

The details of the movements for the destruction of the Reformed were not complete. Various schemes had been proposed to cause bloodshed in some collision between parties of the Huguenots and the Parisians, that might end in bloodshed, and justify a general assault upon the whole body in the city. Arms had been distributed in Paris, and men, fitted for desperate deeds, had been selected and arrayed for action. Hesitation hung over all. The time for the massacre had come, and no one was ready to begin. By the advice of the Queen Mother, the Duke of Anjou and

the Duchess of Nemours, the Guises prepared to commence the work. Under pretence of avenging the murder of their father, they planned the assassination of the Admiral, with the expectation that his followers would avenge his death, and the general slaughter would begin.

Coligny, by invitation of the King, attended a council at the Louvre, on Friday the 22d of August. After council, he went with the King to the Tennis court, and witnessed a game between the King and Guise, and two Huguenot gentlemen. On his way to his lodging, walking slowly up a narrow street, reading a paper, he received, from a musket discharged in the house of Villeman, preceptor of the Guises, two balls, one of which shattered his hand, and the other lodged in the right arm near the shoulder. His attendants rushed to his assistance; and a party hastened immediately to the house from whence the shot came. The assassin escaped through a back door, and eluded all search. A man was seen riding on a horse in full speed from the King's stables.

The news of the assault upon the Admiral reached the King. He uttered his usual passionate oaths, and declared the house of the Guises should be searched to the most secret recesses for the assassin. He visited the Admiral, and by his sympathy and cordiality prevented all suspicion of his having any previous knowledge of the design of that attack. Probably Charles could say, he was utterly ignorant how the massacre was to begin; but he knew that it was to begin soon. The youthful King was trying to deceive the old man, that had almost persuaded him to be

the King of all France. He made all his household visit the wounded man, as in sympathy.

The Huguenot Lords asked leave of their young King and Coligny to retire to their estates. The King explained, giving the court version, that the deed was an act of private malice, fostered by a grudge, for the death of the late Duke of Guise, falsely laid to the charge of Coligny. The Admiral refused to leave the city, saying, "By doing so, I must show either fear or distrust. My honour would be injured by one, my King by the other. I should be again obliged to have recourse to civil war; and I would rather die than see the miseries I have seen, and suffer the distress I have already suffered." Some of the nobles withdrew to the country, and others to the suburbs, giving as a reason, "that they found the air of the suburbs agree better with their constitutions; and that of the fields was still more advantageous." Langoiran, blamed for absenting himself, said, "The good cheer and fine promises of the court induce me to quit it, that I may not be caught in the net like some ill-advised persons."

Anjou, the youngest brother of the King, alarmed the Queen mother still more, by reporting the frequent visits of the King to the wounded Admiral. She dreaded the effects of these prolonged conversations at his bedside. No solicitations could prevent the visits. To be herself the judge, she proposed to accompany him on Saturday afternoon. The King took his seat by the bed of the wounded man, and beckoned her and the company to a distance. The conversation was carried on in a low voice, and pro-

longed. The Queen mother was surrounded by Huguenot gentlemen, conversing in whispers, and often looking at her, and, as she thought, putting their hands on their swords. Alarmed, and feeling herself in their power, she frequently called to the King to spare the strength of the Admiral; and hearing some words of the Admiral—"too much power—Anjou—Queen mother"—she became agitated, and pressed the King to retire, lest he should weary the wounded man. On her way home in a carriage, her alarm was aroused by the manner of the King, who, to her enquiry, "what was the subject of your discourse with the Admiral?" replied, "You are always interfering with my purposes." She then told him that he was ready to fall into the snare laid for him by the Admiral, and would soon be seized by the Huguenots who had surrounded them in the chamber. After a pause, she added:—"Another King is chosen, and you will soon be murdered to make way for him."

Charles was convulsed with passion; and before he had time for reflection, she proposed a meeting of the Council. It was now late in the afternoon of Saturday, August 23d. The Council met under great embarrassment. The Huguenots had not avenged the attempted assassination of the Admiral; their leaders were leaving Paris; the time for decisive action had come, and the court were yet undetermined how the blow should fall. Numerous plans were proposed; the discussions were heated. The King, in phrenzy, demanded the extinction of the whole race of the Huguenots, for the safety of his crown. It was at length resolved that a general mas-

sacre should commence, at the sounding of the bells, the next morning for matins of St. Bartholomew's day. The persons entrusted with the execution of this purpose, were the Duke of Guise, the Duke of Anjou brother of the King, Aumele, Montpensier, and Marshal Tavannes. The Council hastily adjourned. The Guises passed a sleepless night in preparation. The bells, as if in haste for the sacrifice of blood, began to sound before the usual hour. The two Guises rushed into the street with Aumele, the Duc De Angouleme, and a crowd of men of rank, all prepared for murder. The King, the Queen Mother, and the Duke of Anjou, restless, sleepless, with misgivings of heart about the plea to be given for the terrible tragedy in contemplation, remembering that Alva always had some plausible reason for his most outrageous acts; and Philip of Spain had in writing something for his own conscience, and something to justify him in sight of the world; but what could they say for the desired bloodshed? They could not deceive themselves in that hour; they had no reasons to give. The King's phrenzy was passed; watching had sobered all; and at break of day they were at the gate of the Louvre, to listen to the first movings in the streets. The report of a pistol reached their ears. Charles shook with horror; cold drops stood on his brow. They sent word to the Guises to proceed no further. The Duke replied to the messenger: "The orders have come too late," and rushed to the house of the Admiral. His revenge was before him; the answer for it to the world he left to the King and his mother. The Admiral, with Le Hospital the Chancellor, the



one for the Huguenots and the other for the court and Romish party, the two greatest statesmen in France, and probably the greatest statesmen of their age, plead for toleration in religion, and the union of all France under their legitimate King. For this plea Guise could never forgive them. Le Hospital was driven into private life; and the Admiral must go to his grave; because the legitimate King meant first the house of Valois, and then the house of Bourbon. The great abilities of Coligny as a warrior and a statesman, and his great influence as an honest man, were a barrier to the Duke, who desired the crown for the house of Guise. He accused Coligny, on the word of an assassin, of the death of his father. He knew it could not be so; and Coligny had scouted the charge.

A retainer had aimed a bullet at Coligny's heart and struck his shoulder. The Admiral lay in his chamber, suffering from the wound. The Guises, with their crowd, hastened, while the streets were yet solitary from the early hour, to beset his dwelling. Cassinans, the officer of the guard set to protect the Admiral, was the man that, not getting the keys, broke the door for the murderers to enter. The Swiss Guards on the stairs were immediately born down and slain. Berme, a Lorrainer, and Pistmie, an Italian, began breaking the doors of the suite of rooms where the Admiral lay. Awakened by the noise, he called to one of his attendants and enquired the cause. The young man went to the passage door, and listening to the clash of arms and the outcries of the soldiers and the Swiss Guards, and the exclamations in the streets

demanding the blood of the inmates of the house, returned and cried out, "My Lord! God calls us to Himself!" The Admiral threw on his loose gown, and bid his secretary read prayers, according to his daily custom and the form of the Huguenots. The thumping at the doors of his chambers preventing worship, he turned calmly to his attendants, "Save yourselves, my friends; all is over with me. I have long been prepared for death," and then kneeled down to his private devotions. The doors were broken, and Berme, rushing in, cried out, "Where is Coligny?" "I am he," was the bold reply. The ruffian drove his sword through his heart. The soldiers that followed gave each a stab to the lifeless corpse. Berme cried from a window, "The work is done!" "Very well," said Guise, "but Angouleme will not believe it unless he sees him at his feet." A body thrown from the window sprinkled the party with its blood; Guise, with his handkerchief, wiped the blood and filth from the face of the dead body, and pronounced it Coligny. His revenge not yet satisfied, the head was cut off and sent to the Queen Mother. The domestics were all slain. The slaughter now began in all parts of the city. Marshal Tavannes was heard to shout, "Kill, kill! bleeding is as wholesome in August as in May!"

The Duke of Sully, in his Memoirs, says: "Intending on that day to wait upon the King, my master, I went to bed early on the preceeding evening. About three in the morning, I was awakened by the cries of people, and alarm bells which were everywhere ringing. M. De St. Julian my tutor, and my valet, who

had been roused by the noise, ran out of my apartments to learn the cause of it, but never returned, nor did I ever hear what became of them. Being thus left alone in my room, my landlord, who was a Protestant, urged me to accompany him to Mass, in order to save his life, and his house from being pillaged; but I determined to endeavour to escape to the college De Bourgogne, and to effect this, I put on my scholar's gown, and taking a book under my arm, set out. In the streets I met three parties of life guards; the first of these, after handling me very roughly, seized my book, and most fortunately for me, seeing it was a Roman Catholic prayer-book, suffered me to proceed, and this served me as a passport with the two other parties. As I went along, I saw the houses broken open and plundered, and men, women and children butchered, while a constant cry was kept up, "Kill! kill! O you Huguenots! O you Huguenots!"

A company of soldiers broke into the Louvre, and awakening the young King of Navarre, and Condé, ordered them to dress and go immediately to the King. They were forbidden to take their swords. As they passed along several of their gentlemen were murdered before their eyes. One, Gaston De Levis, seeing the danger, fled to the bed chamber of the Queen of Navarre, and took refuge under her bed. She preserved his life. The King, in a state of high excitement, received Henry and Condé, and with oaths, ordered them to renounce their religion, which he said was only a cloak of rebellion. They declined. He pressed them, and finally in a fury with glaring eyes exclaimed, "The Mass or death, or the bastille!"

They agreed to abjure. Dismissed from the presence of the King, they were kept closely guarded. The Queen Mother kept near Charles, stimulating him by the recital of the proceedings, and alarms about the designs and doings of the Huguenots. He was seen at the windows with a musket in his hands, and was heard to cry, "Kill! kill! O you Huguenots!" Some that fled to the palace for protection, were shot down, not improbably by his hand, as he was seen to discharge the musket from the window.

The slaughter went on through the day; and orders were despatched to the provinces, to follow the example of Paris, and "kill! kill! the Huguenots." The rabble seized the headless body of the Admiral, and dragged it with cords through the city. Wearied with the exercise, they threw it into the Seine, already red with the blood of the slain. After a time it was taken out and hung to the gibbet at Montfuceon. A fire was kindled under it. The King went with his court to see the body of him he had honoured, had called father, hanging by his feet from an iron chain over the fire. One of the courtiers turned away, saying, "It smells ill." The King replied, in the language of Vitellius, "The body of a dead enemy always smells well." Marshal Montgomery, watching an opportunity, had the abused body taken down and concealed. Afterwards he sent it to Montaubon for interment.

About ten thousand persons were slain in Paris. And throughout the kingdom not less than seventy thousand. Of those slain in Paris, five hundred were gentlemen of standing—leaders of the Hugue-

nots. Of these, besides the Admiral Rochefoucault, who having been at play with the King part of his sleepless night, and finding himself seized in bed, supposed the King and his companions had come to divert themselves at his expense. The terrible reality left him no time for escape or thought.

The Marquis of Resnel was murdered by his own kinsman, with whom he had a suit at law for the Marquisite. Francis Nonpar De Coumont was murdered as he lay in his bed, with his two sons, one of whom escaped by feigning himself dead. Teligny, son-in-law of the Admiral, received the ruffians with a countenance so benignant, they gazed upon it, and retired without striking him. Others came and despatched him. The Count Montgomery was pursued by the Duke of Guise as far as Montfort. Beauvois, preceptor of the King of Navarre, and Du Brion, preceptor of Condé, were both slain. Peter Merlin, pastor of the church in the family of the Admiral, escaped by leaping from the window of his lodging, and secreting himself in a hay-loft. There he was sustained three days by one egg each day, laid by a hen that came regularly to her nest. Quellenac, Baron of Pont in Bretagne, was slain; and his dead body was gazed at by the ladies of the court, as it lay divested of its clothing. The King spared the three brothers of Marshal Montmorency, lest he should avenge their death.

One man was heard to boast he had killed a hundred with his own hand. Not unfrequently the murderers sung, in the midst of their bloody work, the Psalms of the Huguenots to their well known

tunes of worship. When those who had abjured their creed were seen they were compelled to show their sincerity by engaging with activity in the slaughter of their former brethren. In a few days six thousand were slain in Rouen without mercy.

In other places, Lancerre, Prevos, Rochelle, Montaubon, and Nismes, the Reformed defended themselves. Some Governors, to whom the orders of parliament came eight days after the massacre in Paris, directing them "to pursue the rest of the guilty; and to publish the orders," declined the work. The Governor of Daupheny said, "This cannot be his Majesty's order." Du Chasing of Burgundy declined the execution of the orders; and only one Huguenot was slain at Dijon. The Governor of Auvergne refused to act unless the King himself were present. The Governor of Lyons shut the Huguenots in prison to keep them; but the doors were broken and many slain. The Governor of Baronne, to whom the King wrote, with his own hand, replied, "Sire, I have committed your Majesty's orders to your faithful inhabitants, and to the troops in the garrison. I have found them good citizens and brave soldiers, but not one executioner."

When the King's passion had subsided, he suffered from remorse. Sully records: "From the evening of the 24th of August he was observed to groan involuntarily at the recital of the thousands of acts of cruelty made boastfully in his presence. Of all those who were about the King, none possessed so great a share of his confidence as Ambrose Paré, his surgeon.

This man, though a Huguenot, lived with him in so great a degree of familiarity, that on the day of the massacre, Charles telling him the day was now come when he must turn Catholic, he replied, without being alarmed, ‘By the light of God, sire, I cannot believe that you have forgot your promise never to command me to do four things—to enter my mother’s womb, to be present in the day of battle, to quit your service, or go to mass.’ The King soon after took him aside, and disclosed to him freely the troubles of his soul. ‘Ambrose,’ said he, ‘I know not what has happened to me these two or three days past; but I feel my mind and body as much at enmity with each other as if I were seized with a fever. Sleeping or waking, the murdered Huguenots seem ever present to my eyes, with ghostly faces, and weltering in blood. I wish the innocent and helpless had been spared.’ The order, which the following day was published, forbidding the massacre, was in consequence of this conversation.”

The King, at first, affected in public to disavow the massacre, pretending it was the work of the Guises, on account of their hatred of the Admiral. Eight days after the event, he ordered a register to be made by the parliament, that nothing was done on the 24th of August otherwise than by his commands. He imputed some crime to each of the leading Huguenots for which he was punished. The parliament ordered an annual procession to be made on the 24th of August in commemoration of the deliverance of the kingdom. A medal was struck, on one side of which were the

royal arms, with the words, "Piety aroused Justice;" and on the other was represented the King with a sword and the scales of justice in his hands and a group of heads under his feet, with the words, "Courage in Punishing Rebels."



## CHAPTER IV.

From the Massacre, August 24th, 1572, to the Edict of  
Nantes, 1598.

THE report of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's day thrilled the hearts of Protestants and Romanists throughout Europe. In Spain, it was hailed with public rejoicings; and Philip was stimulated in his work of exterminating the Protestants in his dominions by this earnest effort in France to meet the conditions of the peace of Chateau Cambresis. At Rome, high mass was performed, and a medal was struck, having on one side the profile of the Pope with the words, "The first year of Gregory XVIII., head of the Church," and on the other side a winged woman with a crucifix in one hand and a drawn sword in the other, pursuing a crowd of flying and falling men, women and children, around which were the words, "The destruction of the Huguenots, 1572." In Lyons, the Pope's Legate meeting the murderers fresh from their deeds of blood at the prisons, the intended shelter of the Huguenots, but the scene of their defenceless death, made over them the sign of the cross. In Protestant countries the most profound sorrow reigned. The French Ambassador at the court of England, Fenelon, describes his first audience after that transaction. "A gloomy sorrow sat on

every face; silence as in the dead of night reigned through all the chambers of the royal palace; the ladies and courtiers clad in deep mourning were ranged on each side; and as I passed by them in my approach to the Queen, not one bestowed on me a favourable look, or made the least return to my salutations." In Scotland, John Knox, preaching in a room in the Tolbooth, fitted up for him in his old age to contain about a hundred people, cried out, "Sentence is pronounced in Scotland against that murderer the King of France, and God's vengeance shall never depart from his house; but his name shall remain an execration to posterity; and none that shall come of his loins shall enjoy that kingdom in peace and quietness, unless repentance prevent God's judgment."

In France there was rejoicing that the Huguenots as a political party, favouring the Bourbon line, and as the Reformed Church of France, asking for toleration at least, if not universal Reformation, had been, according to the advice of Alva, exterminated at a blow. The Huguenots themselves, bleeding under the daggers of their enemies, and stunned by the suddenness of the blow, to them sudden, but to the court of long preparation, considered themselves as all dead men. They could hear of blood and murder on all sides, but of deliverance from no quarter.

The forces sent by the court to take military possession of the strongholds, towns and villages of the Huguenots and complete the work of subjugation, marched forth in expectation of a bloodless capture and unnumbered spoils. The capture and the taking of spoils went on, and the delighted court revelled in ex-

pectations of complete success. Suddenly reports came from the Southern provinces strange to their ears, as the resurrection of the dead to the Athenians. The murdered Huguenots seemed risen again to avenge their own blood, shed as the crowning offering at the marriage feast of their young King. One of the bands advancing towards Montaubon, in the careless ease of security, found themselves attacked by a handful of Huguenots under Renier and De Gourdon, who, with their few followers, were seeking safety in flight, and had met this band in a disadvantageous pass, and were entirely routed, leaving many dead and prisoners. The news spread like electricity. The example of resistance was followed; and the Queen Mother and her court soon found that the work of destroying the Huguenots was all to be done over.

It is not necessary to recount the military events of a series of years, the Huguenots struggling for life, and the court for the mastery. They abound in acts of gallantry. They exhibit the change in warfare by the use of gunpowder. ; bravery in conflict changed its form, and tactics their nature. Henry of Navarre, heir apparent, escaped from the vigilance that kept him at court while on a hunting party, and joined his friends in arms. Renouncing the vows he had made before King Charles the morning of the massacre, he became the acknowledged head of the Huguenots, in the place of the noble and good Coligny. He found in the Duke of Parma, acting for Philip of Spain, an adversary worthy of him, and deserving both a better master and a better cause. Henry learned from him practically and often by bitter ex-

perience, the tactics with which the Duke had astonished Europe. The cause of the Huguenots was continually growing stronger and stronger, and Henry their leader coming nearer to the crown of France. The schemes of the Queen Mother, Catherine De Medici, grew less and less attractive, as their malignity became more and more apparent. Her influence over the King, always for evil, became less and less, and her youngest son, Duke De Alencon, took advantage of her perplexities to free himself from her influence and commands.

In May, 1574, on Pentecost day, Charles IX., King of France, expired at the court of Vincennes. He saw few happy hours after the mournful 24th of August, 1572. Coligny and the deceived and murdered Huguenots would never leave his dreams. Their visions haunted him by day, and were terrible to him by night. Often was he heard to cry out with tears, as he waked in agony, "The murdered people will not leave me!" No medicine could soothe his sleep; no arts remove his agony. Of a frail and suffering body, he caught cold accompanying to the borders of France his brother, the Duke of Anjou, on his way to take the crown of Poland, anxious to have a certainty that the Duke had left France. The cold became an aggravated disease. He was tormented with pains irremediable, was covered with a bloody sweat, and often sobbed and wept over the murdered Huguenots. A few days before his death he sent for his brother-in-law, Henry of Navarre. The Queen Mother endeavoured to frighten Henry from the interview. On his way to the dying King she ordered him to be led

through files of armed men, drawn up in the vaults of the palace. He paused at the sight. Encouraged by the protestations of the captain that no harm should be done him, he passed on tremblingly. In the interview, Charles expressed confidence in the honour of Henry, and affectionately committed to his care his wife, soon to be a widow, and his sister. A little before he expired he said: "I am glad I leave no children; they would be too young to govern the state in such difficult times."

Seven months after the death of Charles IX., on the 23d of December, a day "remarkable by the most terrible storms ever known," died Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine and Archbishop of Rheims, at Avignon, in the Pope's territories, not without suspicion of poison. The two Charleses, the bitter enemies of the Huguenots, followed the murdered Coligny to the bar of their Judge, with no reward on earth for their cruelty, and nothing to expect but from the infinite mercy of God.

The Duke of Anjou, third son of Henry II., hearing of his brother's death, left Poland secretly, hastened to Paris, and took the crown as Henry III. His personal feelings were in favour of the young king of Navarre; and he preferred the Bourbon line to the Guises, should the house of Valois become extinct for want of heirs. The Queen Mother and her relatives, with the King of Spain and the Pope, were opposed to both. Under their sanction, a league was formed in 1576, of which the Guise family took the lead, to preserve the Romish succession to the crown, and the Romish religion in the state. Their plans were more

openly avowed after the death of the youngest and fourth son of Henry II., and the next heir after the reigning King. The wars fomented by this league were fierce and bloody. Sometimes Henry III., in alarm about his crown, and intimidated by his mother's representations, went with the league against the Huguenots; and sometimes in greater alarm about the power and the tyrannical bearing of the Guises, he declared against the league. Sometimes there were three parties in arms, and their movements were called the wars of the three Henries. The chivalrous deeds of the wars of the league exhibit the boldness with which Henry of Navarre defended himself against all attacks, and the faithfulness of his adherents.

For a time some of the leaders of the Huguenots were discouraged, and ready to yield the contest about the succession of the young King of Navarre to the crown of France. A plan was proposed by Viscount Turrene, afterwards Duke De Bouillon, in a conference held at St. Paul De Lomiate, that the Reformed Church and Huguenot party conjoined should be formed into a republic, having the Elector Palatine in Germany for the head, with five or six lieutenants in the different provinces; and thus interest the Protestant powers of Germany in the affairs of France. The difficulties in the execution of this plan, arising from the distaste of the Huguenots to having a foreign centre, and the scattered position of the whole party over the kingdom of France, were too great to be overcome; it was soon abandoned.

A historian speaking of Guise, the leader of the League, and Henry of Navarre, says: "Neither the

Duke nor any of his family would believe themselves secure while the King of Navarre lived; and the King of Navarre on his side was persuaded that he should derive no advantage from his right of succession to the crown during the Duke's life. As for religion, which they both made such a noise about, it is a good pretence to procure adherents; but neither of them is much affected by it. The fear of being abandoned by the Protestants is the sole cause that prevents the King of Navarre from embracing the religion of his ancestors; nor could the Duke recede from the Confession of Augsburg which his uncle, Charles Cardinal of Lorraine, had taught him, if he could follow it without prejudice to his interests."

The Duke of Guise slackened not in his efforts to secure the succession to the crown, on account of the King's joining the League against the Huguenots under the hope of making peace. The doctors of the University of Paris pronounced, "that a weak prince might be removed from the government of his kingdom, as justly as a tutor or guardian, unfit for his office, might be deprived of his trust." Henry was made angry by this intimation of degradation. The sister of the Duke inflamed him still more by saying, as she showed him a pair of gold scissors at her side, "The best use I can make of them is to clip the hair of a prince unworthy to sit on the throne of France, in order to qualify him for a cloister, that one more worthy to reign may mount it, and repair the losses which religion and the state have suffered through the weakness of his predecessor." Afraid to imprison or arrest the Duke, the King determined on his assassina-

tion. He dissembled, and persuaded the Duke to meet him in council at the palace. The Duke, infatuated like Coligny, who fell by his order, could not believe he was in danger from the King, though warned again and again that he was throwing himself into toils woven expressly for him, and was throwing away his life by going to the council room. On the 23d of December, 1588, the King gave to each of nine men chosen from his guard a poniard, saying, "It is an execution of justice I command you to make on the greatest criminal of my kingdom, whom all laws human and divine permit me to punish; and not having the ordinary means of justice in my power, I authorize you by the right inherent in my regal authority to strike the blow." When the Duke approached the council room, six poinards pierced his heart. He groaned and expired. The King entering his mother's apartment said: "I am now a King, Madam; and have no competition! the Duke is dead!" This was done at Blois, where the King held a meeting of the States. The Cardinal Guise had encouraged his brother in his designs upon the crown, and had been heard to say: "I will hold the King's head between my knees till the tonsure shall be performed, at the Monastery of the Capuchins." He was despatched by assassins. The bodies of both victims were consumed by quicklime, the bones burnt in a vault of the castle, and the ashes thrown into the air. The brothers of the Duke fled. The Cardinal Bourbon was held a prisoner. The League were made desperate; their power was broken, not destroyed.



The assassination was universally reprobated. The Huguenots cried out that it was like the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and there would be retribution from heaven. The University pronounced the people free from their allegiance to the house of Valois. The King replied that he had no other way of preserving the crown or his own head.

On the 5th of January, 1589, died Catherine De Medici, the widow of Henry II., in her 70th year. By the influence of Pope Clement VII., she was married to the King of France in the year 1533. The mother of ten children, she saw three of her sons Kings of France, Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III. Of her daughters, one was Duchess of Savoy, one Queen of Spain, one Queen of Navarre; and one son a Duke of Brabant. From the death of her husband till her own death, a period of about thirty years, she was in fact Regent of the kingdom. Part of the time the Dukes of Guise, father and son, forced her to share the regency with them; and part of the time her two sons claimed to govern as King. At no time was her influence less than controlling—generally supreme. She hated the Guises for aspiring to be heirs of the crown, and regents by right. She hated the Bourbons for the same reasons, and for their nearness to the crown by descent. She hated the Huguenots for opposing the Pope, but more particularly for supporting the Bourbons. Her enmities increased with her years; and the approaching certainty that the crown of France would not continue in her family. Skilled in intrigue, she was unscrupulous.

pulous of means to accomplish her wishes. To strengthen herself against the Guises, she was willing to marry a Huguenot; and would have done it could she have gained the consent of the Admiral, on whom she had fixed her mind. She felt at liberty to deceive and betray all she wished to destroy. Her violent passions, and want of moral principles, forbid her embracing the views of a statesman. The ladies of the court assured the Duke of Sully that she was personally indifferent to religion, using it as a state engine for her interest and her passions. With great powers of persuasion, and a quick penetration, she used her fascinations for mischief, and produced a condition of things in France she could not control, destruction to all her desires, and to her good name. On her death bed, whether from motives of policy, or conviction of truth, or to propitiate death and futurity, she recommended to her son, Henry III., the very thing for which she took from the Chancellor Le Hospital his office, and from Admiral Coligny his life for attempting—"to cease from persecuting his subjects, and to grant toleration in religion;" things which she had striven against all her Queenly life. Was she in earnest? then she sentenced her life principles. Was she dealing in duplicity? then the ruling passion was strong in death. Perhaps she was but following the example of the Spanish and French Kings of the 16th century, perpetrating some act of injustice during their whole life, and requesting of their successor to make some indemnification to the injured. Few had ever loved her; none lamented her death.

All the great actors in the Bartholomew Massacre were now dead. All died unhappy. Neither they or their descendants received any advantage from an act that has covered them with infamy forever.

In a few months, between the second and third of August, Henry III., King of France, died, smitten by the hand of an assassin, the monk James Clement. It was known that the King had determined to crush the League, and had called upon Henry of Navarre to unite with him. With an army they advanced towards Paris, taking every town that had declared for the League. Henry of France had his headquarters at St. Cloud; Henry of Navarre at Meudon. Clement asked to be introduced to the King, pretending to bear a letter of importance. La Guesle the solicitor, knowing the King's partiality for Monks, introduced him. The King was sitting in his chamber, partially disrobed. After reading part of the letter, he arose. The assassin struck him in the abdomen with a knife. The King hastily drew it out and wounded the monk in the forehead. La Guesle struck him dead with his sword. The news was immediately communicated to the King of Navarre. The Duke of Sully accompanied him to St. Cloud, and says: "On entering the King's apartment, he found he had just received an injection, which came away again without pain or blood. The King of Navarre approached his bed amidst all the agitations and grief which the sincerest friendship could inspire. The King comforted him by saying, he thought his wound would have no fatal consequences, and that God would prolong his life

that he might be in a condition to give him some new proofs of his affection. The wounded monarch pronounced these words in such a manner as removed part of the King of Navarre's apprehensions, who seeing likewise no appearance of any dangerous symptoms, left him to his repose, and returned to his quarters at Meudon. My lodgings were at the bottom of this castle, in the house of a man named Saureat. After I had attended the King of Navarre to his apartment, I went home to sup, and had just set down at table, when I saw Ferret, his secretary, enter, who said to me: 'Sir, the King of Navarre and perhaps the King of France desires you will come to him instantly.' Surprised at these words, I went with him immediately to the castle; and as we went along, he told me that De Orthman had informed the King of Navarre by express, that if he wished to see the King of France alive he had not a moment to lose. When we entered St. Cloud they told us the King was better, and obliged us to take off our swords. I followed the King of Navarre, who advanced towards the castle, when suddenly we heard a man exclaim: 'Ah, my God, we are lost!' The King of Navarre making this man approach who continued crying, 'Alas! the King is dead!' asked him several questions, which he answered by such a circumstantial account of the King's death, that we could no longer doubt the truth of it. Henry was still more convinced when, after advancing a little further he saw the Scotch guard, who threw themselves at his feet, saying, 'Ah, sire, you are now our King and Master.' And some moments after, Messrs. De Biron, De Bellegrade, De

C. De Chateaufreux, De Dampiere and several others did the same."

The King of Navarre, with his accustomed decision, received the homage of the guards and the gentlemen; and took the necessary measures to be proclaimed Henry IV., King of France. The army was taken by surprise. The Huguenots at once acknowledged him as their rightful King. A part of the army of the dead King did the same; a part proclaimed themselves ready to do the same on condition he embraced the Romish faith; another part, without declaring for whom they were prepared to take a decisive stand, declined receiving him. Marshall Biron was invited to speak to the officers of the French guards to come and pay their homage in the afternoon, and to persuade the nobility to do the same.

The body of the assassin was burned, and his ashes thrown into the Seine. He was of the order of St. Dominic. On his coming to St. Cloud, some persons went by night into his chamber to observe him. They found him in a profound sleep, his breviary before him, open at the article of Judith. He fasted, confessed himself, and received the sacrament before he set out to assassinate the King. The Prior of the Dominicans was examined, nothing could be extorted from him but, "we have done what we could but not what we would." This led to the belief that the murder of the King of Navarre was to have been added to the assassination of the King of France. The Prior was condemned and torn in pieces by four horses. "Clement was praised at Rome for his deed; at Paris, his picture was placed on the altars with the

eucharist. Cardinal De Retz relates, that on the anniversary of the barricades, in the minority of Louis XVI., he saw a gorget upon which this monk was engraved, with the words underneath, ‘St. James Clement.’ To make the death of the King sure, the knife was poisoned. The wound was not deep, and had not injured the intestines.”

The Orleans branch of the house of Valois, claiming from Louis IX., St. Louis of the Crusades, the crown of France, was now ended, and with it ended the house of Valois. The Bourbon line now, in the person of Henry of Navarre, took the crown. The Orleans line began with Francis I., in 1515, and ended with his grandson, Henry III., in 1589. In every individual that wore the crown, the Reformed Church found an enemy that failed not to shed its blood, and the Huguenot party an opposer that laboured for their destruction. Yet under the severity of all these, the Huguenots, as a church and as a political power, were always increasing. The massacre of August 1572, seemed to give them accelerated growth. Their principles were tried, their temper was purified, and their patience had its perfect work. They asked no help from the State, as a Church, only the permission to live and increase from their own strength and resources under the blessing of God.

Henry IV. acted with courage and promptness. He dispatched messengers to England, Flanders, Switzerland and Venice: and received kind assurances in return, but no immediate help. He met the Leaguers in the field with gallantry, and assailed their towns with success. They could not agree

upon a person to set up in opposition to Henry of Navarre; and their hopes and expectations on the final settlement of the crown were boundless and wholly irreconcilable. Philip of Spain had required his kinsman, the Duke of Parma, his greatest general and statesman, to assist the Leaguers in putting down the Huguenots, and any claimant of the crown not of the Romish faith. Parma and Henry had tried their strength, and found each an adversary worthy of the other. Parma, extricating himself in a masterly manner from an unfavourable position, by the passage of the Seine in the night, went to the Netherlands for reinforcements. On his return he was arrested by disease at Anos, and passed speedily from the service of his ungrateful kinsman to his bier on the 1st of December, 1592, in his forty-eighth year. Negotiations were renewed. The opposition to Henry was divided. Many of the leaders proposed to receive him as their King, on condition of his renouncing the Huguenot faith for the Romish. Others were ready to receive him on condition of being remembered in his disposition of places of honour and profit. The great mass of the Huguenots were, with their ministers, entirely opposed to any change in the King's faith in favour of Rome. Some of their military leaders, like the young courtiers of Navarre at the fatal wedding, desired the festivities of Paris, which city would, it was believed, declare for Henry if he changed his faith.

Up to the year 1592, the Duke of Sully says: "I would have had this Prince, doing justice to those who had served him with zeal and affection, to have

refused all other assistance, and cast himself entirely into their arms. I was persuaded that after such an open declaration of his dependence upon the Protestants, England, Holland, and all the Protestant powers of Europe would exert themselves so effectually in his favour, that they would, without any assistance from the Catholics, seat him upon the throne." The powers of Europe were slow in giving any effective assistance to Henry. He went on with his negotiations, in readiness to repel all violence, and pondering the subject of abjuration. He was evidently inclined to listen to those who urged upon him the advantages of changing his church connexion; but he could not find a reason satisfactory to himself and the Huguenots.

Early in 1593, Sully says: "I resolved to prevail upon the King to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, and persuade him to do it by degrees. I was sensible that by this means I should give disgust to two classes of persons, the Protestant neighbours of France and the French Calvinists. But as to the first, France, when united with itself, had no occasion for any foreign assistance; and it was easy to give the second such advantages as would make them behold this change without murmuring. With regard to both, I depended upon the gratitude which a prince like Henry could not fail of cherishing for persons to whom he owed such powerful obligations. When he arrived at Monte, he sent for me to come to him with the usual precautions. Jacquinet introduced me into his chambers before day, and we immediately entered upon our subject. Henry, who had made a thousand



reflections on the perplexing situation he was in, began by drawing a very natural representation of it; irreconcilable opposition in the princes and nobility of the kingdom; hatred among themselves and rage against him; mutiny and disobedience in all minds; inactivity in the foreign allies; intrigues and enormity on the part of the enemies; treachery within; rocks and precipices on all sides. The end of this pathetic discourse was to demand what remedy I was able to apply to these evils. I replied that without taking upon me to give his Majesty advice, I saw only three things for him to do, and he might determine upon which he pleased. The first was, to satisfy every one's demands at his own expense, or rather at the expense of the State. The second was, not to make concessions to any, but to endeavour to wrestle vigorously with them all. The third, which held a medium between these two, was to take away all obstacles that opposed his advancement to the crown, by turning Roman Catholic. I pointed out to him that by following the first, he would reduce himself to nothing. As to the second, I represented to him that as soon as he should give room to believe, that he depended only on the claim his birth gave him to the crown, the desertion of all the Catholics, and the unbridled fury of a whole nation of enemies, both within and without the kingdom, would draw upon him a terrible storm. On the third I was silent." After listening at length to the King giving his views of the probable course of procedure of the leading men, both of the Romanists and the Reformed, in his case, which ever course he should take, Sully

proceeds: "I explained all my thoughts on this subject to the King, and added that the foundation of all religions which believe in Jesus Christ being essentially the same; that is faith in the same mysteries, and the same notions of the divinity, it seemed to me that one who from a Catholic became a Protestant, or from a Protestant became a Catholic, did not change his religion, but followed for the interest of religion itself, what policy suggested as the most proper means to compose all differences; but that although my opinion should be erroneous, yet this must be allowed to, an incontestible truth, that the embracing the Catholic religion did not include the necessity of persecuting all others. I told the King that he might remedy this dangerous evil by uniting those who professed these different religions in the bonds of Christian charity and love; or, if this was impossible, by prescribing to them rules so just as might make both parties contented with what was granted to them."

The King was more than gratified with the advice of his counsellor; it gave a specious reason for doing what he wished; a reason that brought no conviction to the thoughtful, but would satisfy the unscrupulous in religion. Other reasons pressed him. The States General called at the instigation of Parma, now dead, met in Paris, June, 1593, about a month after the man who alone expected to, or could control its proceeding, had passed from all earthly concerns. Its discussions, protracted and violent, revealed the fact that there were many aspirants to the crown, and the hopes of all were founded on the favour of the Romish clergy and the Spanish court. The Duke of Mai-

enne, the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal De Bourbon all put in their claims. Maienne was the most wealthy, Guise the most popular in France, and the Cardinal was the favourite of Spain. A proposition came from the Spanish court, that the Cardinal should be united in marriage with the second daughter of the King of Spain. The deliberations grew more violent and confused. It was admitted that the King of Navarre united in his person the claims of three royal lines from St Louis; the objection to him was that he was a Huguenot. Hoping by abjuration to remove objections and settle the crown peaceably on his head, he determined to abjure. It was with him a matter of State policy. "He therefore," says Sully, "at last declared publicly that on the 20th of July he would perform his abjuration, and named the church of St. Denis for this ceremony."

On the appointed Sabbath, the 20th of July, 1593, "the King met the Archbishop of Bourges, with the Cardinal De Bourbon and nine Bishops, at the Chapel of St. Denis. On his entering, the Archbishop said, 'Who are you?' The King replied, 'I am the King.' 'What is your request?' 'To be received into the pale of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church.' 'Do you desire it?' 'Yes, I do.' The King then kneeling, said: 'I protest and swear in the presence of Almighty God to live and die in the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion; and to protect and defend it against all her enemies, at the hazard of my blood and life; renouncing all heresies contrary to this Catholic, Apostolic and Roman church.' He then put this confession in writing into the hands of the

Archbishop, who presented his ring to kiss, and gave him absolution in a loud voice; during which the *te deum* was sung."

At the report of the King's abjuration, the Romish Church in France and throughout the world rejoiced, the Huguenots mourned, and the Protestants of Europe were sad. The leaders of the Huguenots opposed the measure; and to the King's enquiry, "What shall I do?" could only answer with Bouillon, "Gird on our swords and make a final trial." The Leaguers were confounded, not believing that Henry would do what they had declared indispensable to their submission to his authority. By this stroke of policy, Henry gained but partially and slowly the objects in expectation. The very ones that clamoured for the act, were slow to believe that he was sincere. The King of Spain, whose plans were disturbed by this act of Henry, "ordered," as we are informed by Sully, "Taxis and Stuniga to offer the King forces sufficient to reduce all the chiefs of the League and the Protestant party, without annexing any other condition to this offer, than a strict alliance between the two crowns, and an agreement that the King should give no assistance to the rebels of the Low countries. Philip II. judged of Henry by himself, and considered his conversion only as the principal of a new political system which made it necessary for him to brake through his former engagements." This offer, and the alliances the King rejected; also the offer of marriage with the second daughter of Philip, made soon after.

On the 12th of December, following the abjura-

tion, the King held an assembly of the Reformed at Monte, in which he publicly declared that his changing his religion should make no alteration in the affairs of the Protestants. Many things asked of him he refused, but promised them toleration.

Attempts were made to assassinate the King. Barriere, a boatman of Orleans, set out to accomplish his death. Hearing of the King's abjuration, he gave over the project. "Varade, the rector of the Jesuit College at Paris, and M. Aubray, curate of St. André des Aris, encouraged him to execute his design, by persuading him he should perform a meritorious action. Varade even heard his confession, gave him absolution, and commanded one of his order to administer to him the sacrament. Barriere disclosed his accomplices, when he was broke upon the wheel." A gentleman of Lyons, by name Brancaleon, came to the King at Meulan and informed him that Father Seraphim Banchi had revealed to him a plot to take his life; the figure, countenance and the dress of the assassin were described with great exactness. Two days after, the wretch was seized, tried, condemned and executed. "My friend," said the King to Sully, "is it not strange to see persons professing religion so malignant as to be daily making attempts upon my life? I was always told that by embracing the Roman Catholic religion, all these evil intentions would be destroyed, and that M. De Maienne and his partisans would acknowledge me as soon as I should take the step; but I begin to see that there is more of ambition and avarice in their hearts than religion and justice."

“The King’s troubles were still further increased by the behaviour of the Catholics in his court, in whom his abjuration had wrought as little change as it had done in those of the League. They bore with impatience his not breaking off all connexion with his old Protestant servants, and openly murmured, if he conversed with any of them, especially me.”

The King proceeded, by negotiation, to gain the Leaguers, one by one, by considerations of the public good, the inutility of war, the offices of honor and profit connected with the government, by presents, and by persuasions. Gaining admission to Paris without bloodshed, and occasionally taking a town that held out against him, by arms; sending an embassy to the Pope, and negotiating with foreign princes; constantly growing stronger and stronger, he was crowned at Chartres, February 17th, 1594, King of all France. Whether he gained in a political point of view by his abjuration, or hastened his progress to the possession of the whole kingdom, is a subject of profound speculation, and involved in doubt, when contrasted with his great cotemporary, the Prince of Orange. The one trod under feet the morality of the religion in which he had been educated for the indulgence of his passions; and then abjured its principles and forms under pretext of securing a crown for which he was contending. The other won by the piety of a suffering people, embraced their religion in practice and principle; and then in defence of them and their religion, expended his patrimony and rejected the crown they offered. In both cases the supreme authority descended to their posterity;

and the difference of the results in two hundred years exhibit the just judgment and righteous providence of Almighty God.

The Ninth National Synod of the Reformed French Church, after an interval of about five years from the massacre of August, 1572, was held at St. Fay the Great, in the Province of Perigord, commencing February 2d, 1578. Peter Merlin, pastor of the church in the house of Guy Earl, of Laval, the man that escaped from the house of Coligny at the time of the massacre, was chosen President. "The deputies of every province are charged to press their respective provinces to look carefully to the education of their youth, and to see to it that schools of learning be erected and scholastic exercises, as propositions and declamations be performed, that so youth may be trained up and prepared for the service of God and His church in the holy ministry." The churches were "admonished more frequently to practice catechisings, and all ministers shall be obliged to catechise their flocks at least once or twice a year."

Ordered, that Colloquies see to it "that ministers may better know their duty, and grow in the study and understanding of the holy Scriptures, and be more methodical in their sermons and divinity discussions.

"Fathers and mothers are exhorted to be exceeding careful in instructing their children, which are the seed and nursery of the church; and they shall be most severely censured who send them to the schools of Priests, Jesuits, or Nuns."

Monsieur Ernard, appointed by some of the churches

to attend at Frankfort, in Germany, in September, 1577, on a meeting of deputies of the Reformed Churches in christendom, made report of the proceedings, "with which the Synod was well pleased." And upon consideration of the intention of that meeting, called by John Casimir Duke of Bavaria, and Prince Palatine, the uniting of all the Reformed Churches in christendom in one common bond of union, and the forming one uniform Confession of Faith for all Protestants, the Synod thanked God for so good a motion, and appointed four of their number, Anthony De Chandieu and John De Estre Ministers of Paris, Peter Merlin of Vitre in Britian, Monsieur Gobert of the French Church of Frankfort, to attend that meeting.

The first appeal brought to Synod came this year from the Prince of Condé against the consistory of Rochelle, complaining of being debarred the Lord's table for acts done on the sea under his commission. A prize was taken, which the consistory insisted should be returned as unlawfully taken. Condé refused, and plead the act was a political one, and not concerning the consistory. The consistory replied that the act was of a moral nature, and under the supervision of the Church. The Synod affirmed the decision, and appointed a committee to wait on the Prince and convince him of the propriety of conforming to the decision of the Church.

The Duke De Bouillon, representing the King of Navarre, was present at Synod, and permitted to vote. The judges and magistrates of St. Fay also had a seat. The permitting the magistrates of the place to



sit in the Synod, became a subject of discussion, and was finally determined that their advice and vote should be admitted on matters of general proceeding, and not permitted on matters of faith and discipline.

The Tenth National Synod met at Frigeac, August 2d, 1579, Monsieur De La Fage moderator. For the first time, a roll of the members was preserved in the records, together with the provinces in which were the Churches they represented. Fourteen pastors and six elders composed the assembly. The Synod enjoined upon Colloquies and Provincial Synods to press upon wealthy Churches and individuals the importance of sustaining students of divinity, and poor scholars of hopeful parts; ordered that letters from this assembly be sent to noblemen and rich Churches, urging the matter upon their attention.

The necessity of a full representation of Elders at the National Synod was pressed upon the Provincial Synod.

“The Confession of Faith presented by the Churches of both languages, Dutch and French, in the Low countries, hath been approved by this Synod. And it was consulted on by this Assembly what means would be most proper to re-unite the several Confessions of all those nations which agree in doctrine into one common Confession.”

“Neither the canonical nor apocryphal books of the Holy Bible shall be transformed into comedies or tragedies.” This was aimed at a growing evil of the times in different countries.

“Churches that in singing Psalms do first cause each verse to be read, shall be advised to forbear such childish custom.”

The Eleventh National Synod was commenced Wednesday, June 21st, 1581, in Rochelle; the second meeting in that place. Monsieur De Nort, of Rochelle presided. The Confession of Faith read to the National Assembly in this place in 1571, was read to this, and "all the deputies protested in the name of the Churches of their respective provinces, that they would persevere in the union of that doctrine and Confession of Faith, which was formerly subscribed in the National Synod held in this city in the year 1571."

"Princes and great Lords shall be advised to observe the articles of our discipline, and to send their ministers to our national and provincial Synods and Colloquies."

"For time to come neither ministers, nor any of the faithful shall print or publish any of their writings, or private works without having first obtained the express leave and approbation of their respective Colloquies."

The Twelfth National Synod, held at Vitre, in the castle of the Earl of Laval, commenced May 15th, 1583, Peter Merlin of the Churches of Vitre and Laval, presiding.

The Churches of the Low countries having requested an interchange of deputies at the National Synod; it was agreed to, and arrangements made.

"It was resolved that a seal shall be made for the National Synod, that all letters of importance, written in its name, may be sealed by it." A seal was made; on it was a burning bush, in the midst of which was, in Hebrew characters, the word Jehovah, and around

it the words "*Flagror non consumor*," (I am blazing, not consuming.)

"The Lady De La Blanchardaye hath liberty granted to her to get a minister that may set up the true worship of God and exercise of religion in her house, called the wood of Mayne, provided that the neighboring Colloquy do allow and approve of said minister."

The Harmonia Confessionum, by Castres, was approved; ordered that it be translated into French. Monsieur Anthony De Chandieu pastor at Paris was solicited to undertake a journey to effect an union between the churches of Germany and France; and if he cannot go, De Siere was selected and urged to go in his place. Monsieur Salnac was requested to write to the princes and divines of Germany, and to confer with the Lord Du Plessis about the letters to be sent to De Chandieu the delegate.

The 13th National Synod was held at Montaubon, June 15th, 1594, after an interval of eleven years, owing to the troubles of the nation in the wars for the succession to the French crown. Michael Berault presided. Ordered that the Lord's supper be celebrated in this church before the breaking up of this Synod to testify "our union in doctrine and discipline."

Persons must be appointed to answer adversaries who write against the Reformed Church and doctrines. "If any person shall presume to print his book before he has first communicated it unto his Colloquy or Synod, according to our discipline, he shall be most severely censured and his book suppressed."

The churches were exhorted to receive the last translation of the Bible made at Geneva ; and thanks were given to Monsieur Rotan ; and letters were ordered to the brethren at Geneva, “who at the desire of our churches so happily undertook and accomplished this great work.”

M. Calvin’s catechism to be retained in use by the churches unaltered.

Thanks were given to pastor Beraud and others, for maintaining the truth at the conference held at Nantes last year, with Monsieur Perron and other Popish doctors ; and the Synod commend their offer to renew the conference at the King’s pleasure. This conference had been held by desire of the King while he was agitating the question of adjuration. Sully says: “Perron captivated the King by his easy principles and pleasant address.”

The churches were required to pay their quota of the expense of the deputies in attending the political assembly held at Nantes, December, 1593, at which the King had promised toleration ; and also of the one to be held at St. Fay by the deputies of the provinces, as the interest of the whole Huguenot body were in consideration. It was recommended that the political union sworn at Nantes by the deputies should be sworn to by the churches in their temples of worship and in their guild halls. The object was to hold the whole body in strict union till the King, who had abjured in the May preceding, should grant them their promised privileges.

A father complained that his son had accepted a call to a church against his will and judgment. It

was set aside by the assembly, and the young man went to another place. Ordered, that a regular list be kept of all members in communion, and that members subscribe their own names when able to write.

The Fourteenth National Synod was held at Saumur commencing June 15th, 1596. De La Touche was President.

Ordered: "That the provinces should be advised to do their utmost that a college be erected in each of them; and that by them all jointly, at least two academies."

"And this Synod judgeth this city, Saumur, a most convenient place for a college, and whenever God shall bless with ability, for an academy also."

Letters were received from the King and High Constable, expressive of their good will and respect: ordered that proper answers be returned, and the royal favour be entreated.

The order established by the gentlemen, met at Loudon, that the Huguenot body maintain mutual union, was approved of, and ordered to be carefully observed till the King grant the free exercise of religion by edict.

The French Church in Loudon asked for a pastor.

Whether the Scripture songs put in metre by Beza shall be sung in the churches, was put over for consideration, and the provinces were requested to study the matter "that it may be more solidly debated." M. Beza was thanked for his sermons on the passion, dedicated to the pastors and elders of the churches of the kingdom.

As the Geneva Bible was scarce and dear, it was

resolved to have an edition of the Bible printed at Rochelle. The churches of Upper Languedoc proposed that able churches should erect libraries for the use of ministers and professors or candidates: approved. Ordered, that two chaplains be sent from the pastors of the Reformed Churches, to the army, to serve for six months, to be followed by others in order; the first to go from the Isle of France and Normandy. The King's sister asked for De Amaurs as her chaplain: granted. He had been chaplain to Henry IV. before his abjuration. The very papists in the army were melted by his prayers, as well as the lords and commanders. When going into a fight, they would call upon the King, "that the minister who prayed yesterday might pray again." Lords going into the army were permitted to take a minister with them.

The assemblies at Monts, St. Fay and Loudon, referred to in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth National Synods, were the political assemblies of Huguenots, which they had commenced in 1560. Distressed at the abjuration of the King, their expression of feeling was strong. The King promised the meeting at Monts, the December succeeding his change of religion, that he would grant them toleration. This meeting and the succeeding ones passed strong resolutions to preserve unity of action and purpose till the promised Edict was given. The resolute, determined course adopted at the meetings, undoubtedly urged on Henry to fulfill his promises. He could not forget that he owed his crown and his life to the Huguenots. He might have continued to delay the per-

formance in hopes that by the same negotiations that had divided and disarmed the Romanists, he might win over, one after another, of the Huguenot leaders by offices of honour and profit, till the weakened and disorganized body would have ceased to ask any Edict, or would have been content with one of narrow terms and influence. The Huguenots feared this, and promised each other, in their meetings, and enjoined upon the whole body, to reject all propositions of personal treaties, or settlements by provinces; and to persist, as one undivided body, to demand, as the least boon they could accept, *Toleration for their religion*. Henry, disappointed in his efforts to divide and destroy, said, "I can never use them ill, nor declare war against them, for I shall always love them." The Church courts joined with the political assemblies, and gave force to their decisions, urging the churches all to bind themselves, by oath, in the churches and guild houses, to hold together, and make no separate treaty, or cease to demand the Edict for toleration. After four years of delay and negotiation on one side, and of resolute perseverance on the other, the Edict was signed April 13th, 1598.

The Edict of toleration, called the Edict of Nantes, is a document of great length, filling twenty-five folio pages, and divided into ninety-two sections. The general outlines were marked by the King, and the particulars were adjusted according to his expressed will. Many hands, Romish and Reformed, were employed upon it. The Romanists, in their unwillingness to grant anything, were ever on the watch that he should not give too much; the Reformed were

on their guard lest he should not give enough. It is evident he granted as little as he supposed would content the Huguenots, and no more than he supposed the Romanists would bear. The whole was a matter of political management. He persisted in calling the Huguenots, the "pretended Reformed," and styled the Romish faith, "the Roman, Catholic and Apostolic." In a supplement of ten folio pages and fifty-six sections, the Reformed had full permission to hold their worship except in places especially named, to exercise their discipline, hold consistories, colloquies, Provincial and National Synods. A phrase was added "by his Majesty's permission," which was used by the successors of Henry IV., to the great annoyance of the Reformed, and finally to the entire suppression of the National Synod, their bond of general union. Schools, colleges, universities and hospitals were to be open equally to the Romanists and Reformed. In political influence and in the courts the advantage was on the side of the national religion. The Huguenots were required to pay taxes for the government and the national church, as the other citizens of France; but as a return the King granted them a yearly revenue from the Treasury of forty-five thousand crowns for the use of the Reformed Church. All political assemblies, which they had enjoyed since 1560, were absolutely suppressed as unnecessary.

Philip of Spain lived long enough to know that toleration in religion had been granted to the Reformed in France. In about five months after the Edict was passed, on the 13th of September, he breathed his last, broken down by disease and the infirmities of



age, and the accumulated weight of disappointment. He had lost Holland, though Alva had pressed with all the power of an absolute monarch, determined to subdue his provinces to unity in religion. From the treaty of Chateau Cambresis with Henry II., he had exerted himself by negotiations, by intermarriage, by intrigues and by armed force to destroy the Reformed in France. Not once was he known to consent to any offer of kindness to the Huguenots. He ever contemplated them as heretics against religion and absolute monarchy, to be destroyed utterly. He died seeing the object of his whole life entirely lost. Before his death, for his sons' sake, he concluded a peace with France, and so far acknowledging the toleration he could not hinder. The whole company of actors and advisers of the massacre of St. Barthomew's day had now gone down to the grave; and not one could claim a single advantage or happy hour flowing from that terrible act. The Huguenots, not obtaining all they wished, had gained a signal advantage, for the protection of which an absolute king was solemnly engaged.

It is vain to conjecture what would have been the condition of things if Henry IV. had remained true to the faith in which he had been educated; and to those who, true to their faith and to his rights, had put him on the throne. The things to be gained for him were less than those which had been gained by his faithful friends and the Providences of God. From the time of his abjuration there was no faith in his religion any where either in France or at Rome.

The Huguenots had gone through ceaseless perse-

cutions, whilst fashioning the Reformed Church, whose organization was complete in 1559, and though wars and bloodshed called by historians, in derision, religious wars, but in truth the struggles of a noble people for political and religious rights, protracted through more than five and thirty years, had at last gained protection for their religious worship. The gaining of this in an absolute government, like France, was an acknowledgment that rights and privileges were not confined to the nobility, but belonged to the lowest member of society; that life, property and religion were the unalienable rights of all.

It has been computed that when the house of Valois became extinct, and Henry IV. was acknowledged King of France, the miseries of France had reached a height not exceeded by the wars of the Revolution some two centuries afterward. The victims of the wars for the succession had been little less than a million of men. Nine large cities had been demolished. Two hundred and fifty villages had been burned. The number of houses destroyed was about one hundred and twenty-eight thousand. The national debt amounted to three hundred and forty-five million of livres of the day, equal to fifteen million pounds sterling, at twelve per cent. interest. The gross amount of taxes was one hundred and seventy millions; the net receipt was thirty millions only. Of these only eleven millions went to the King for the expenses of the government.

## CHAPTER V.

From the Edict of Nantes, 1598, to the Assassination of Henry IV., 1610.

IN the Edict of Nantes a distinction is made between the Huguenots, or the Reformed Church, and the Huguenots as a political body. Both had claimed, and had enjoyed privileges, in the exercise and maintenance of which Henry IV. had come to the crown. The Church was confirmed in its right to have a Confession of Faith, a Discipline, and a Form of Worship; and with the restriction of certain places, to exercise freely the privilege of meeting in assemblies for religious worship; the meeting of the Consistories, or persons set apart to manage the affairs of particular congregations; of Colloqueis, the pastors and representatives of the congregations in defined neighbourhoods; of Provincial Synods, the pastors and representatives of congregations in a province, or province associated; and finally, of the National Synod, the representatives from the Provincial Synods; all these meetings being essential to toleration of their religion and their worship. But the political meetings of the Huguenots were forbidden. Previously to the year 1560 the Huguenots had no other privileges than those belonging to toleration in religion. These they demanded; and when not granted, maintained under persecution even unto death. But in

1560, they were invited by the nobility of their body, of whom Coligny, Condé, and Anthony of Navarre took the lead, to come out as a political body, and as such to unite for the Bourbon succession to the crown, as the most ready and only sensible way of obtaining security for the exercise of their religion. Political meetings were held in consequence of this request; and as a body the Huguenots declared for the Bourbon, entered into the contest for it, shed their blood profusely, under the conviction that freedom in their religion was connected with the Bourbon cause; and never ceased in their efforts till, after more than thirty year's of trial, Henry IV. was acknowledged King of France.

Their political assemblies were Provincial and National. The smaller meetings in provinces were the primary meetings of the people. The larger meetings were representatives of smaller ones; and the National Assemblies were by representatives from the provinces. In their formation and action they followed the organization of their church courts. In these meetings were debated all things that concerned the welfare of the whole body, except the Confession and Discipline and Worship of their Church. Politics and religion were studiously kept asunder in their discussions, though the same persons often appeared as leaders in the meetings for politics and in the meetings for religion; as the pastors and elders and deacons of the Church were often delegates to the political assemblies. Henry had both encouraged these meetings, after he had become the head of the party, and had enjoyed the vast advan-

tages of their union in council and action. These meetings were not sustained by any of the existing governing powers of France. Of course they were revolutionary, and had accomplished their object. Spain, and all the aspiring factions of France, were defeated. In settling the policy of his kingdom, the King, in the Edict of Nantes, not only did not sanction the continuance of these meetings, but positively forbid them. It was also claimed that the Provincial and National Synods of the Church were also included in the prohibition. It is, however, a matter of history, that in the Edict, as prepared by the King, and signed, for the ratification of parliament, there was an article confirming the privilege of these political meetings, as a legitimate way for the expression to the King of the wants and wishes of the people.

The Romanists violently opposed the article. And some prominent Huguenots, whether from anxiety to end the discussion about toleration, or from shortsighted complaisance to the court, or from a desire to win the favour of the King, by profession of unbounded confidence in his government, and equitable management of affairs, without any written obligation or promise, consented to the erasure of the obnoxious article. The great mass of the leaders and people were earnest for the sanction of the political assemblies. The King erased the article. Probably the firmness of the assemblies that met at Nantes, St. Fay, and Loudon, after the King's abjuration, in demanding a security of their rights and privileges, by Edict; and the resolutions they passed, calling on all the Huguenots, whether considered as the Reformed

of France, or as the political body, that had succeeded in the contest about the succession to the crown, to hold together in the strictest union, making no separate treaties or agreements for particular towns, cities or provinces, or individual nobles, or bodies of men, for special privileges, and sustaining each other till the rights and privileges of all were settled by Edict; and the tenacity with which the leaders held to their demands in the presence of the King himself, all combined, with the King's love of arbitrary power, to determine him to erase the article conferring the privilege of political assemblies, and to insert one, positively forbidding any such meetings.

To allay the discontent among the Huguenots, the King promised them, verbally, that the political meetings should be undisturbed for a series of years, as the means and channel of communication between the King and his Huguenot subjects. This privilege was undisturbed till after the death of Henry IV., and being contracted by degrees, was finally abolished by his successors. They were particularly desired by the Huguenots, for the purpose of choosing two deputies to reside at court, to watch over their interests, and be the immediate agents through whom to present their affairs to the King. With the right of choice, they also claimed the right to decide upon the manner the deputies performed their appropriate duties.

It had been not uncommon in making treaties or entering into contracts, for nations to give and receive the possession of towns and fortresses as pledges, to be retained a given number of years, for the fulfilment of the stipulations of a treaty, or till the condi-

tions of a contract had been complied with. These were called *cautionary towns*. In 1570, at the treaty made by the Queen Mother and the Huguenots, Rochelle, Montaubon, Cognac and La Charité were put in their possession as fortified places to be retained as pledges of the treaty. To these were added by Henry all the fortified places they had built up during the wars for the succession, amounting to about one hundred. These with all their arms and forces were to be retained by the Huguenots for eight years as pledges for the fulfilment of the Edict, and of their safety. And nine hundred thousand crowns yearly were promised for their support. At the end of eight years the possession was indefinitely prolonged as a defence or surety against the violence of the ecclesiastics that urged the destruction of the whole body of the Reformed.

With the exception that it became customary to ask the royal permission for the meeting of the National Synod according to its adjournment, and for the political assemblies when desired, the political and religious meetings of the Huguenots were held as had been usual before the Edict. The advantage was, that the Edict confirmed many privileges expressly, and the King's leave was given for others without the formality or stability of the law.

The Edict was by the King's influence and authority registered and published in April, 1598. On the 26th day of the next month, the Fifteenth National Synod commenced its sessions at Montpellier. Pastor Berault presided. The King's sister under promise of marriage to the Duke of Barr, applied to Synod for advice. She had

declined to be married after the Romish form, and the Duke to be married after the Reformed manner. The Synod advised against the match altogether. The King was anxious for it, and prevailed upon the Archbishop of Rouen, his natural brother, to pronounce in his cabinet, the formal words of marriage, he himself giving his sister and joining their hands. The Duke went immediately to mass, and the Duchess to sermon at the court.

The Edict of Nantes was laid before the Synod. Two clauses required attention. By one it was ordered, "that all members of the said religion, pretendedly Reformed, and others who have followed this party, shall be bound and holden by all reasonable dues; and under the penalties contained in the Edict on these matters, to pay and discharge tithes to the curates and other ecclesiastics, and to all others to whom they may belong, according to local usage and custom." The other in the breast of his Majesty, depending on his simple authority, and not on the authority of parliament: "That there shall be placed in the hands of Monsieur de Viese, commissioned by his Majesty for that purpose, by the royal treasurers each in its year, rescriptions for the sum of forty-five thousand crowns, to be employed in certain secret affairs which concern them, which his Majesty does not wish to speak of or declare." This yearly stipend was a small return to the Huguenots for the taxes they paid for the support of the Romish clergy by the old laws of France, which the King thought it not best to change. The tithes were to be paid as usual, and this annual sum returned from the treasury. The



Synod determined to appropriate a part of this income to the support of two universities, one at Saumur, and the other at Montaubon; and two academies of Theology, one at Montpellier and the other at Nismes. The larger portion to be divided among the churches for the support of the ministry. The number of churches were reported according to the provincial Synods: 1st. That of the Isle of France, Picardy, Champagne and Brie, 88; 2nd. Normandy, 59; 3rd. Brittany, 14; 4th. Burgundy, 12; 5th. Lyonnois, 4; 6th. Forest, Dauphiny and Provence, 94; 7th. Vivarets, 32; 8th. Lower Languedoc, 116; 9th. Higher Languedoc, 96; 10th. Lower Guienne, 83; 11th. Poitou, 50; 12th. Xantoigne, 51; 13th. Anjou, 21; 14th. Orleans, 39, making in all 760. Each of these churches was to receive a portion of the annuity.

The Synod declared: "That had it not been for the good union and correspondence which is among us we had never got the liberty of our consciences in the public profession of the Gospel and service of our God, nor justice to be administered to us, nor other needful securities for our lives. This Synod doth now protest and resolve, that for the future, that union subscribed and sworn at Nantes shall be better and more strictly kept and observed than ever, that so the articles of this Edict may be performed to us, and all other things needful for our preservation, in our obedience to his Majesty and his Edicts." This union is the one sworn to at Monts, December, 1593, a few months after the King's abjuration. It bound the whole body to union of action in political matters, as their Confession did in religious. Some

English writers, seeing this union referred to repeatedly by the National Synod, have charged the French Church with divisions and discords. By failing to adhere to this union strictly, and yielding to the King's wishes, the privilege of political assemblies was finally lost. The Synod was of the opinion that, but for the union, the Edict of Nantes could never have been gained.

Ordered, "That all churches do their endeavours to maintain their own poor. Also, ministers that have gone abroad, on account of the troubles, are commanded to return forthwith to the service of their churches." The King's sister was promised that the Synod would always provide able ministers for the church in her house: those ministers to bear no other name than simply Pastors or Ministers. Complaint was made to the English Ambassador, and to Monsieur De La Fontaine, ministers of the French Church in Loudon, of the books injurious to the French churches, published by Lutcliffe & Sarovia, in England, and circulated to some extent.

According to a requirement of the Edict of Nantes, the colloquies were commanded by Synod to make attestation of the characters and religious standing of any man appointed Governor of the cautionary towns, to prevent imposition and deception.

The youth of the Huguenots were not shut out of the universities and schools of France. By the Edict they were admitted to equal advantages with all others. The influence pervading them was so entirely Romish, and the probability of ill effects so strong, the Synod began in earnest to prepare proper schools of all

grades sufficient to prepare their youth for all the positions of life, and especially for the office of the gospel ministry. The word Academy was used in the highest classical Greek sense, a place for the highest instruction.

Gathering courage and strength for their work, the Reformed Church increased in numbers and influence. Her members were found along the northern and eastern borders of the kingdom in great numbers. scattered through the centre provinces in less strength; and most numerous in the southern provinces. Greatly in the minority in point of numbers, they divided France in national strength and influence. Had their residences been more contiguous, their relative influence would have been greater. And it is far from impossible that in the troubles that afflicted the state, after the death of Henry IV., the Huguenots would have formed a republic like Holland, and become a powerful confederate state among the nations of Europe. Their dispersed condition utterly forbid any such attempt; and a serious consideration of it was cut short by the example of many provinces of the Netherlands, which, after half a century of wars, were overcome and compelled to submit. The time for France to become a Protestant nation passed in the time of Francis I.; came and went again with Henry IV. That the time will come that a true Reformation will pervade France is certain; but when it will come time alone, under the Providence of God, will disclose.

At the close of the sixteenth century, the circumstances of the French nation as a whole, and of the

various parts in particular, afforded frequent opportunities of working out serious present disquiet to the Huguenot body, and preparing for them, after a series of years, a catastrophe more desolating than the massacre of St. Bartholomow. First, After the settlement of the crown on the head of Henry IV., there was, according to the spirit of the age, and the nature of man, an exciting and, to the King, a most annoying strife for the acquisition of hereditary estates, offices and honours. The Leaguers, and all opposed to the King of Navarre, sought these as considerations for their aid and friendship. His old friends expected them as means of defraying their great expenditures in his cause, and as affording opportunities to amass wealth, and meet the demands that would come in his future service. They were expected as gifts from the King, or as purchases at a reduced price, or by marriages with dowagers and heiresses. The strife between contending parties about them portended violence and civil war in the provinces. As many of the prominent men of the Huguenot party were engaged in this strife for property and honour, congregations of the Reformed were often agitated by contentions in which they had no real interest. The aspirants, counting on the advantage to be gained by the report that the whole Huguenot population of a province were in favour of them and their desired boon, used all means to excite the population to commit themselves in some demand or expression of their wish. In one province they were assured that the tax, on the necessary article of salt, depended on their course in respect to the person

who should have the farming of that article ; in another, that their whole interests as citizens were involved. Happily, few congregations thus assailed could be prevailed upon to take any step that had the appearance, much less the spirit, of disloyalty.

Second, The King of Spain, always true to the design of destroying the Reformed in France, had his emissaries abroad, in every form and condition of society, to excite discontent between the Huguenots and the government ; at one time poisoning the ear of the King and court with relations of disloyal designs in the provinces occupied by the Reformed ; at other times alarming the Reformed communities with reports of the designs of the court for their destruction ; and urging the people to revolt, or at least to imprudencies that should provoke the King.

Third, The most clear-sighted and best informed Huguenots thought with their much loved leader and statesman, the murdered Coligny, that their political assemblies were necessary for their welfare—almost for their existence—and for the ultimate good of France. Henry vacilated between his convictions of their importance to the Huguenots, and his desire to bring all France to his absolute will, yielded so far as to pass unnoticed the meetings, and even to give permission for their being called, to choose delegates to be at court to watch over the interests of the whole body of the Reformed. The opponents of the Huguenots urged the great impropriety of permitting these meetings, or even the meetings of the Provincial and National Synods, whose assembling, it was contended, was against the words of the Edict. In

favour of permitting these assemblies, it was contended that they had always been favourable to the cause of the Bourbons, and would be still; were a bond of union among the Huguenots; a means of access to the King; and that by them every Huguenot was called to defend his family, his religion, and his lawful King. To one of these political assemblies which the King permitted to meet, but about which rumor had excited sad anticipations, the King sent his Minister Sully, a Huguenot by education and profession, to act in his name, and with authority to check any disorderly propositions. Whatever designs may have been in the hearts of members, the kind things said by Sully to the assembly strengthened the loyalty of the members to the King; and in the end, the meeting was for the good of the community at large. Henry understood the Huguenots, and could never forget that to them he owed his crown and his life; and, of his own accord, without any decree or written obligation, permitted the political meetings they desired; and this permission grew into a custom of the kingdom.

All places of honour and trust were open to all the citizens of France, by Edict, irrespective of their religious faith. Some of his ablest counsellors were Huguenots. Sully showed himself to be a great master of finance; and for two centuries the ablest financiers of the French court were Huguenots. The debts of the nation were soon paid by Sully. The expenses of a generous court were met, and the treasury filled with funds for national improvements. The King had excelled in war and negotiations; and

his numerous efforts for national improvement were successful. France was prosperous, and grew strong in his reign. He encouraged mechanic arts, for which his Huguenot subjects had a decided predilection; and his treasury grew rich in their prosperity. France rapidly recovered from the ruin of the long minorities and regency, and the thirty years war for the succession. Men of enterprise were encouraged; and rapid strides were made towards the first place among nations as a great producing kingdom, that laid a tribute on Europe by her traffic. The balance of trade made money plenty; and abundance of money stimulated the trade and improvements of France. The reign of Henry was distinguished by great plans and great prosperity. He had a splendid court. Paris was the centre of France, and he was the centre of Paris. His own ability to govern shone splendidly in the abilities and acts of his ministers and officers. He knew how to distinguish and how to reward.

Encouraged by the protection of the King, the Reformed Church of France redoubled her efforts to promote pure morals and an elevated religious life. To prevent mistakes and promote uniformity of action and judgment, cases of conscience were sent up from the lower church courts to the National Synods for advice and decision. These are on record, and from them might be deduced a most elevated system of morals and religious action, fitting all those positions of life in which the gospel of Christ finds suffering humanity. These decisions were enforced by the highest considerations, and the most diligent attention of the proper

authorities. Men were taught to dread a guilty conscience, and the wrath of God, and the personal displeasure of an offended Saviour, more than penance and purgatory. They sought the favour of Christ more than confession to a priest or an indulgence from the Pope. In discipline, the aim was impartiality. No difference was made between the rich and the poor, the high and the low. Impurity was the same in all classes and conditions. The church desired to purify the cheerfulness and elevate the enjoyments of France. The "vine-clad hills" and fertile vales were the abodes of simple-hearted cheerfulness and piety. Men and women were taught to be glad in the Lord, and kind to their fellow-men. The sacredness of love was impressed by powerful considerations. He that trifled with woman's affections was judged a sinner. A promise of marriage once uttered might not be revoked. Men and women were taught to expect their highest earthly enjoyments in the domestic relations; and the Church guarded those relations with unceasing care. In no part of Europe were the manners and habits of intercourse more pleasing, pure and elevated, than among the Huguenot communities. They would sing; and the music and sentiments of their songs often excited the licentious to a fury of persecution. The morals, the religious living, and the domestic virtues of these people, had one unequivocal commendation; the licentious hated them. The Kings and nobles, and men in office, cast longing eyes upon the beautiful specimens of human loveliness, and cursed the barriers that protected them. They would tear down the vine to plunder the clus-



ters. The court of France had been long renowned as the most splendid in Europe. Beneath that splendour was concealed a deadly indulgence of gross passion, fatal to purity, life, and future blessedness. Henry IV. was not surpassed, by his predecessors or successors, in licentious desires. He was simply less formal and bloody than Henry VIII. of England. He could make wickedness fashionable, and the destruction of domestic quiet a sport and a jest. Sully, an ardent friend of his, says: "I am weary of displaying those little weaknesses in a prince who, on other occasions, has afforded me so many opportunities of admiring the heroic firmness of his mind. This storm, occasioned by a mere love-quarrel, ended, as usual with Henry, in an increase of tenderness for his unworthy mistress, which carried the misunderstanding between him and the Queen to greater heights than ever. It was fixed by a most unaccountable contradiction in the nature of things, that this prince should, throughout his life, seek his pleasures and gratifications at the expense of his quiet and his health."

Every means by false reports and otherwise were used to influence the mind of the King and his court against the Huguenots, whose doctrines and way of life were a perpetual reproof. Sound sense and argument, and clear expositions of Scripture, and great earnestness characterised their pulpit ministrations. Their ministers were the most eloquent in France; and though in after times Bossuet, Massilon and Bourdaloue were exalted by the Romanists as the first of pulpit orators, the King said Du Bose the

Huguenot was the most eloquent man in his kingdom. In foreign lands, where this language was understood, the French pastors were admired; and "the French pulpit" came to mean great earnestness in the delivery of sound doctrine in a winning, often a splendid style. Pious Huguenots had unwearied enjoyment in their public worship, their prayers, their sermons and their singing. Religion is impressive; and they were an impressive people. Religion is intellectual, and they were an intellectual people. Freedom in religion meant, freedom to serve God personally, and to educate their children to noble actions and immortality. They expected to be justified by the righteousness of Jesus Christ, and would hear of nothing less than perfection in the Son of God, in His person and His life; and they would bind themselves with the golden bands of a Saviour's love. A true Huguenot, at the court of Henry, was like Daniel in Babylon. And, like him, they often won from their monarch strong expressions of admiration: "I shall never forget that God made use of that body to free me from the oppression of Spain, to assist me in supporting my just rights, and to save even my life from the fury of the Leaguers." Henry admired their virtue, and was licentious still.

The Huguenots were increasing in numbers by the multiplication of their own families and by converts from the Romish faith, which were so numerous that the Synod called the particular attention of the church officers to regulate the course of proceeding, lest evil consequences should follow to the doctrine and practice of the Church by the influx of these new members.

The Sixteenth National Synod commenced its sessions at Gergeau, May 9th, 1601. Monsieur Pacard presided.

Ordered, That, "Richer churches and great Lords shall be entreated to erect libraries for the benefit of their ministers and candidates."

Also, That, "Lotteries ought in no wise to be approved, whether they be appointed by magistrates or not; and godly magistrates are entreated by their authority to suppress them."

Also, "We judge it an unfitting practice to be introduced into our churches, however it be common among some other foreign churches of Christ, to send out candidates into country villages, there to preach whole months upon trial before ordination."

Also, "That letters be written to the professors in Leyden, requesting them not to ordain the students from France, as it is desirable they be sent home to be ordained before the churches."

Also, "That a register list be kept of those who have come from the Romish Church to be united with the Reformed since the last National Synod, and an account of them be given to the church at Montauban."

"Provincial Synods are ordered to take special care that the widows and orphans of poor ministers deceased in the service of their provinces, be provided for."

The number of churches of the Reformed were reported 753.

The Seventeenth National Synod commenced its sessions at Gap, in Dauphiny, October 1st, 1603. Daniel Chamier presided.

“This Synod, reading over the Confession of Faith, and explaining the 18th, 20th, and 22d Articles of the said Confession, concerning our justification before God, expresseth its detestation of these errors, which are now-a-days broached to the contrary, and in particular their errors who deny the imputation of Christ’s active and passive obedience, by which he has most perfectly fulfilled the whole law unto us for righteousness. And therefore provincial Synods, colleagues and consistories shall have a careful eye on those persons who be tainted with that error, be they ministers or private Christians; and by the authority of this Assembly shall silence them; and in case of a wilful, stubborn persistency in their errors, depose them, if they have pastoral charge in the Church, from the ministry. And letters shall be written to Master Piscator to entreat him not to trouble the churches with his new-fangled opinions; as also from this Assembly to the Universities of England, Scotland, Leyden, Geneva, Heidelberg, Basil, and Herborne, in which Piscator is professor, requesting them to join with us also in this censure. And in case the said Piscator shall pertinaciously adhere unto his opinions, Masters Sohnius and Ferrier are to prepare an answer to his books, and that it be ready against the meeting of the next Synod.”

Respecting the Pope, “Whereas the Bishop of Rome hath erected for himself a temporal monarchy in the Christian world, and usurping a sovereign authority and lordship over all churches and pastors, doth exalt itself to that degree of insolency as to be called God, and will be adored, arrogating to himself

all power in heaven and on earth to dispose of all ecclesiastical matters, and to define articles of faith; and in the civil State he tramples under foot all lawful authority of magistrates, setting up and pulling down Kings, disposing of Kings and their kingdoms at his pleasure; we therefore believe and maintain that he is truly and properly the anti-Christ, the son of perdition, predicted by the Holy Prophets; we hope and wait that the Lord, according to His promise, and as He hath already begun, will confound him by the Spirit of His mouth, and destroy him finally by the brightness of His coming."

The Synod ordered the book of the Lord Du Plessis upon the Eucharist to be printed, it having been read and approved by the pastors and professors of Geneva. The provincial Synod of Vivarets having decreed excommunication against an elder unless he immediately withdraw his son from the Jesuit College in Tournon, this Synod confirm the decree.

Those suffering for their expressed opinion about the Pope being anti-Christ were commended to the sympathy of the whole body of the Church "according to that firm bond of union which is established among us;" and the deputies at court were directed to petition the King that they might not suffer on that account.

The Synod determined to have correspondence with the orthodox universities of Germany, England, Scotland, Geneva, Basil, and Leyden, respecting an union of all the Protestant churches.

Ordered, That pastors shall not be non-residents. Respecting the word "pretended," as used in the

Edict of Nantes, before the word “reformed,” as the name of the French Church, it was determined that the word “pretended” should not be used; and a petition should be sent to the King on the subject.

Ordered, That oaths be taken by holding up the right hand, and not by kissing the Bible.

A roll of the Church was presented this year and printed in full, excepting the province of Normandy, from which there was neither roll nor deputy. The ministers in actual service were 478; Emeriti, 11; Candidates, 46.

The moderator of this Synod was familiarly called the Great Chamier. He was killed at the siege of Montauban, where he was pastor and professor, on a Sabbath morning by a cannon ball, on which was the letter C, supposed to mean the hundredth shot at the town.

The Eighteenth National Synod was held at Rochelle, commencing March 1st, 1607. Monsieur Be-raut was President.

“Whereas, Dr. John Piscator, Professor in the University of Herborne, by his letters of answer to those sent him from the Synod of Gap, doth give us an account of his doctrine in the point of justification, as that it is only wrought out by Christ’s death and passion, and not by His life and active obedience; this Synod, in nowise approving the dividing causes so nearly conjoined in this great effort of divine grace, and judging those arguments, produced by him for the defence of his cause, weak and invalid, doth order that all the pastors in the respective churches of this kingdom do wholly conform themselves in their teach-

ings to that form of sound words which hath been hitherto taught among us, and is contained in the holy Scriptures, that the whole obedience of Christ, both in His life and death, is imputed to us for the full remission of our sins and acceptance unto eternal life ; and, in short, this being but one and the same obedience, is an entire and perfect justification.”

The Synod expressed itself satisfied with the explanation of repentance given by Piscator.

The answer to Piscator's book, prepared by Sohnius, pastor and professor at Montauban, was considered and approved ; but the publication was postponed, in hopes of settling the question with Piscator without a printed controversy, as letters had been received from John Earl of Nassau, by the pastor of Bordeaux, in which he expressed his desire for maintaining the peace and union of the Church ; and particularly promised that the outbreaking of Piscator's notions should be prevented, provided he was not provoked elsewhere by any others to publish in reply to attacks. It was hoped that a bitter controversy might be avoided.

The Confession of Faith having been read, was, as usual, approved by every member of Synod, “particularly in what had been determined according to the Scriptures, that we be justified before God by the imputation of that obedience of our Lord Jesus which He yielded unto God, His Father, in His life and death. Which protestation the deputies of the provinces will, by the authority of this Synod, cause also to be taken by all the pastors of their respective provinces which have sent them.”

Ordered, That an exact catalogue of the churches, ministers and candidates in their respective provinces, be brought by the deputies to the National Synod.

“Monsieur Perrin is entreated to finish his begun history of the true estate of the Albigenses and Waldenses ; and to help in it, all persons having memoirs by them, either of doctrine, discipline, or persecutions of those poor saints of Christ, are charged to transmit them to him with all possible diligence and care.”

Monsieur Chamier was requested to prosecute his worthy labours begun in answer to the works of Bel-larmine.

It being understood that her Majesty would be displeased by the publication of the article on anti-Christ, the Synod resolved that the printing be omitted, provided that members were not molested for it, or any minister for preaching it, teaching or writing about it ; and the subject was to be laid before his Majesty.

Leave was granted to those eleven provinces, in which there was neither College or Academy, to erect one ; and the Synod promised one hundred crowns to each for that purpose.

His Majesty having expressed his determination that hereafter in choosing deputies to attend at court for the purpose of attending particularly to the affairs of the Huguenots, the Synod should nominate six persons, out of whom the King would choose two to “serve for three years,” and that if either should die before the term of service expire, his Majesty would choose a successor from the remaining four ; the Synod objected to this change in the manner of election. The King held to his determination ; and the Synod,



persisting in its adherence to the old rule, chose two deputies to attend at court, entreating his Majesty to accept them ; promising that the matter of changing the manner of election, and of the time of service, should be left to the next political assembly, as the act of union of 1593 required that such matters as related to the public welfare, of a political nature, should be determined by a political assembly.

It is evident the King was preparing to do away with the political assemblies of the Huguenots, and designed to regulate the proceedings of the church courts.

Thanks were rendered to God for the letters from the Elector Palatine, the University of Heidelberg, Synods of Holland and Zealand, and county of Hainaw, from the classes of Lauzane, Morges and Iverdon, the canton of Berne, and city of Geneva, on the subject of uniting the Protestant churches ; in which the Confession of Faith of the French Church was approved. “ All persons are exhorted to be mighty wrestlers with God in humble and ardent prayers that it may be effected.”

Those admitted to the Master's degree to be kept on trial two years before they are admitted into the ministry. And candidates with good testimonials may be spectators of the National Synods ; but persons not ecclesiastics may not, whatever their quality or condition.

The Nineteenth National Synod commenced its sessions at St. Maxaut in Poictou, May 25th, 1609. Monsieur Merlin presided.

“ Monsieur Vergnier presenting his theatre of anti-

Christ, composed by him in obedience to the command of the National Synod, received the thanks of the Assembly for his great and worthy pains; and the University of Saumur is ordered to peruse it, and having given their opinion of it, that it be printed with the author's name."

In welcoming ministers from a foreign land, particularly Scotland, from which she received a number of excellent ministers that found it necessary to leave their native land for a time, the National Synod was especially careful to maintain the authority of its own discipline and government and doctrine. In deliberating this year upon the case of Mr. Welch, the famous Scotch minister who fled to France in 1606 and was minister at Jouzar in Xantoigne, the Synod declared—"and furthermore he is commended, both in preaching and in the exercise of discipline, to conform unto that order and manner used and accustomed in the churches of this kingdom." So far was the Synod from receiving a moulding from abroad, she was jealous of even seeming to do so; whilst, at the same time, she cherished the kindest feelings to the Church of Scotland and the churches on the continent.

In administering the Lord's supper, the Synod enjoined simplicity and uniformity; the prayer appointed for the sacrament being made, the words of institution were to be read, then the elements to be uncovered, and the communicants to come one after another, and not in regular ranks, to the Lord's table. The elements were not to be dispensed by others than the pastors and elders, "nor shall the exhortations or thanksgivings be made till that the elements have

been distributed among the communicants of every table."

The printer of Rochelle having proposed to print an edition of the Bible "that might be easily carried any where in the pocket," he was encouraged to proceed; "and forasmuch as divers godly persons desired there might be an index added to it of those texts which are most proper and pertinent for confirming the truth and confuting error," the Synod approving the suggestion, "because of its singular usefulness, entreated Monsieur Merlin to see it accomplished; which he promised to perform."

The provincial Synods were requested to nominate some fit person to be prepared to defend some important doctrine in the following order: 1st. Poitou—the word of God, written and unwritten; 2d. Anjou—Christ, the Pope and anti-Christ; 3d. Xaintonge—the Church and Councils; 4th. Orleans and Berry—the vocation and grades of the ministry; 5th. Isle of France—the monks, clergy, and laity; 6th. Provence—the state of the patriarchs, of infants, and of purgatory; 7th. Normandy—the blessedness, the invocation, and the relics of the saints; the hierarchies worship and service of angels; 8th. Higher Languedoc—the nature of the sacraments generally, and the true ones in particular; 9th. Lower Guyenne—sacrifice and the Popish mass; 10th. Burgundy—the five false sacraments of the Papists, and indulgencies and jubilees; 11th. Lower Languedoc—the state of the first man, sin, and the cause of sin; 12th. Brittany—original sin, the law, and the fulfilling of the law; 13th. Vivaretz—free-will and predestination; 14th.

Dauphiny—justification, good works, merit in general and particular.

On the subject of the Universities, which was laid over to this Synod ; determined that there should be five continued : 1st. Montauban, with two professors in divinity, one in Hebrew and one in Greek ; with two professors of philosophy ; 2d. At Saumur, with as many professors as at Montauban ; 3d. At Nismes, with one professor in divinity, and one in the Hebrew and Greek tongues ; 4th. At Montpellier, with one professor in divinity, and one in the Hebrew and the Greek tongues ; 5th. At Sedan, with one professor in divinity, one in Hebrew, and one in Greek. A college was to be maintained at Montauban, with a principal and seven regents ; and in case of a refusal, their privilege of being an university was to be transferred to Bergesac. Saumur also was to maintain a college with five regents. The privilege of a college was granted to Bergesac, a sufficient sum having been raised there to maintain an institution, “as well supplied with regents to instruct our youth in grammar-learning and philosophy as the best of our adversaries.” These adversaries were the Jesuits who aspired to engross the education of youth. The Duke of Sully had the privilege of settling a college at Gergeau until that built by him at Boisbelle be completely finished.

In the various questions brought before the National Synod of disciplinary nature between the Edict of Nantes 1598, and the death of Henry IV. in 1610, and the decisions of the Synod on them, two things are clearly seen : 1st. That in case any minister was

condemned, by a Colloquy or provincial Synod, as guilty of immorality, there was great difficulty in obtaining any alleviation from the National Synod; 2d. The resoluteness with which all the judicatories maintained the sacredness of the marriage vows and the married state. Promises of marriage were considered binding, whether made as final at the time of promising, or to be made final at some future time. All breaches of promise were considered as worthy of the censures of the church, except in cases the Scriptures say would justify divorce.

In this way the Huguenot Church bore a constant and earnest protest against the lasciviousness of the court, which plead for its excuse the example of the King, who always maintained at least one acknowledged mistress, often under sacred promise to make them Queen on given emergencies, which promises were never fulfilled, though the conditions were. By her example, and preaching, and discipline, the Huguenot Church bore her testimony against a corrupt court.

The King of France had known the ill effects of the ambitious designs of the Spanish Kings, Charles V. and his son and grandson Philip, for an overpowering universal monarchy; and had felt, in his own person, the ills arising from the intrigues of one nation to manage the affairs and control the religion and politics of another. He conceived a plan for the pacification of Europe and establishing its peace on the basis of a balance of power, which when once adjusted, it would be the interest of all the parts of Europe to maintain. He calculated on the co-operation

of the weaker powers from the immediate advantages and future safety of their dominions. He expected the assistance of the Protestant powers, as the balance of power would limit the house of Austria in Germany, Spain, and Italy, and be a guard against the Pope's overweaning influence in mingling the temporal with the spiritual dominion. And he believed that even the Pope himself would agree to a balance of power that would render his temporal possessions more safe. The details of his plan were never promulgated; the outlines were known to Sully, who believed the scheme practicable, and to some of the Protestant powers, who were hopeful of the event.

Henry made great preparations to sustain a powerful army. His treasury was full; his outfit for an army complete in stores of provisions and abundant armories; his finances arranged for a constant supply; his officers chosen; the agriculture and mechanic arts flourishing throughout his kingdom; and all France satisfied with his government; the Romanists that he had abjured Protestantism, and the Huguenots that he had given them toleration. Everything, to all human appearance, seemed ready for his great enterprise. With reluctance he had yielded to the solicitations of the Queen to be made regent of the kingdom while he should be engaged beyond its limits. He decided that the coronation should take place on the eve of his departure. All arrangements being completed, the Queen was declared regent with appropriate ceremonies. In the midst of the ceremonies and rejoicings that followed the coronation, on Friday, the 14th of May, 1610, the King, while passing

in his carriage through a narrow street, was stabbed by the assassin Ravillac. Watching and following the King for days, the murderer seized the opportunity, when the carriage of his Majesty was delayed by a crowd of vehicles, sprang upon one of the hinder wheels and gave him three stabs in quick succession, causing his death almost instantaneously in the arms of two friends riding with him. The murderer, on his examination, made no confession of accomplices. He was tortured; he endured the agonies of the wooden boot; his right hand was burnt off; his flesh was torn with hot pincers; liquid lead and boiling oil were poured into his wounds; for an hour he endured the pulling of four horses, which were unequal to the task of tearing his body into quarters, till the crowd rushed in upon him and cut his sinews. Nothing escaped his lips that might criminate any one as an accomplice.

There had been various foretellings of the death of the King by violence; circumstances were pointed out, as at a time of rejoicing, in a carriage, and in the midst of people. Astrology was a folly of the age. Henry, unwilling to subscribe to its truth, was yet unable to avoid its influence. He trembled more under the revelations communicated to him than in the shock of battle. He told his Minister Sully, whether jestingly or in earnest, that he dreaded the coronation of the Queen, for it seemed to him it was the time foretold for his death. Many have thought that the numerous warnings and predictions of violent death, culminating in his assassination after the coronation, were evidence of the complicity of many per-

sous in the preparatory steps and the execution of the foul act ; rather than the agreement of astrological calculations, by various persons, ignorant of each other's designs or employment. The evidence brought before the Parliament of Paris during a long investigation of the circumstances accompanying and preceding the death of the King, was carefully concealed from the public, and finally suppressed. This confirmed the belief, that, notwithstanding the oath of Ravillac, persevered in to his death, there were not a few accessories to the King's murder ; that many were planning and contriving the same event, by some general impulse, either singly on their own responsibility, or in a well arranged connection never revealed. Some looked to the Jesuits in France ; some looked to Spain ; and others to Italy, for the contrivers of the deed.

Immediately after the assassination, the Queen assembled the council for advice and co-operation. In a short time a new council was chosen. The old financier Sully was retained for a time, and probably might have passed his life in the treasury if, with his great abilities for his position, he could have conjoined a ready willingness to gratify the demands of the Queen's favourites upon the resources of the kingdom. The honesty that made him great forbade the acquiescence. While the court was yet echoing with "the time of kings is over, and that of princes and grandees is come, and all they have now to do is to set a high value upon themselves," Sully, returning from an interview, to which he had been invited, with the Queen and her new council, writes : "The deceased King's



government, so wise, so gentle, and so glorious to France, was condemned almost publicly, and even despised and ridiculed; at one time they treated his designs as mere chimeras; at another they represented him as a weak and pusillanimous prince, incapable of taking any noble resolution. It was not enough to leave the death of this great prince unpunished; they added to that neglect all sorts of outrages against his memory; and unhappily for us, heaven, which reserved to itself this vengeance, suffered envy and ingratitude to triumph in their success. I returned home full of grief at what I saw and heard. We are going, said I, to Madam Sully, whose prudence I well knew, to fall under the dominion of Spain and the Jesuits; all true Frenchmen, and the Protestants especially, must look well to their safety; for they will not continue long in tranquility."

All the great designs of Henry IV. for the recovery of his paternal kingdom of Navarre, for adjusting the boundaries of France, and ensuring the pacification of Europe, by establishing and maintaining a balance of power for the aggrandizement of France by internal improvements in innumerable ways, all died with him. The Queen regent and her council had other designs for the expenditure of the treasures and resources of France. Henry had some of the requisites of a great statesman, a capacity for large general views, and a capability to enter into and arrange the minute details necessary to accomplish the most extensive plans, soundness of judgment in deciding upon matters of national policy and improvement, quickness of discernment, which experience had rendered

almost infallible, of what was favourable and what opposing in those with whom he came in contact, with a firmness of purpose that variety and love of pleasure could not shake or dangers alarm, with a prudence in revealing his designs which was equalled only by his firmness of purpose. But in other things equally essential to a great statesman, whose excellence shall abide on the page of history when the events of his generation have seemed to lose their influence upon our race, he was greatly deficient. In comparing him with that statesman and soldier, Coligny, under whose example he learned war and politics, we can allow him in many things equal abilities; and in some things perhaps greater. But in others of unspeakable importance, the pupil was greatly inferior to his master, the purity of personal morals, and consistency in religion. Without these a man may be a great, but not a complete immortal statesman. Coligny was murdered, and Henry was murdered, both in the midst of the plans of their greatest statesmanship. The purity of the one has made his great principle of toleration, which nothing but purity of principle and heart could have conceived, immortal. The want of purity of morals in the other left his great principle, the balance of power in Europe, a doubtful principle in itself and in its action, till other men in other times have demonstrated it. Coligny is a statesman for all ages; men may always follow the principles of him who could say he would rather "die than be compelled to witness the miseries of a civil war," "which his life could not prevent or remedy." Henry's statesmanship can be imitated only by such men

as Louis XIV. and Napoleon Bonaparte. He is not a statesman for everybody nor for all time.

The first Bourbon King laid the foundation for the glory and the downfall of his line. By his manly bearing as a soldier, "where my white plume is, is the post of honor," and by the aid of his incorruptible Huguenots, he gained the crown of France. He brought every duke that publicly talked, or privately sighed for that crown, to take his proper place in the kingdom. He increased and made permanent the resources of France; the incapacity of his successors encumbered, but could not ruin them. He amalgamated France; his successors shook, but could not rend the kingdom. He strove to impress upon his posterity and the world, that it was the prerogative of France to pacify Europe. But this same man, when about to take his position on religion before the world, having resolved to abandon the principles in which he had been reared, and in the defence of which the Huguenots had carried him to his throne, and profess the religion of those who had for years sought his life and finally rejoiced in his death, to whom in his retirement does he write: "On Sunday I shall take a dangerous leap. While I am writing to you, I have a hundred troublesome people about me, which makes me detest St. Denis as much as you do Monté?" but to one who bewildered him and, sacrificing her own honor, despoiled his house of peace. He would profess his religion before the world while living in contempt of the enduring laws of heaven, which, if a man break, and teach others so, he shall be called least in the kingdom of God.

The morals of Henry were at war with his profession as a Huguenot. Confession and penance could not hide them as a follower of the Pope. He utterly disregarded the domestic purity of France. He gathered fair specimens of the beauty and wit of his kingdom to be exposed as women whose glory was departed, and who gloried in their shame. Noblemen lost their sisters, their daughters, and their wives; and the wealth and splendour of the court could not hide and sanctify the shame. The King was a libertine. Many of his courtiers followed his example. In the excesses of others there had been disgrace; Henry made his fashionable. He encouraged the beautiful to aspire to the crown, and mocked them when they had paid the stipulated price. He attempted to destroy purity at its fountain-head. For a series of years mistresses, rather than the Queen, governed the court of France. As went the court, so went Paris in fashions and religion. As went Paris, so went the fashionable in the kingdom that desired a welcome at court.

Libertinism, under whatever form of religion it may prevail, necessarily becomes infidel of that form; and, in process of time, atheistic. From the dawn of the Reformation till the beginning of the seventeenth century, true religious knowledge and practice of piety was on the increase in France. From that time, that true knowledge of God and His word, on which all true religion is founded, began to be hemmed in to the narrowing circle of the Huguenots; and the successful efforts to lessen their numbers, and finally drive them from France, gave infidelity and its consequent atheism full sway. Under this dominion, the Bour-

bon line went down in the terrible revolutions that saw Louis XVI. and his beautiful Queen, Marie Antoinette, victims of the guillotine. The glory and the ruin of the Bourbon line began with its first King.

## CHAPTER VI.

The Reign of Louis XIII. from 1610 to the Peace of Montpellier, 1622. The Destruction of the Political Privileges of the Huguenots begun.

THE assassination of Henry IV. of France brought to a gloomy close the festivities of the coronation of his Queen, regent of the kingdom, in his expected absence for the pacification of Europe, and his possible death while in the accomplishment of that great work. The widowed Queen entered, the next morning, on the duties of her office. The burial of her husband having been duly performed, she made preparation for the speedy coronation of her son, a youth of nine years, to be performed at Rheims. His title to be Louis XIII.

The great plans of Henry IV., on which he was just entering, were all abandoned. Two persons, Concinni and Galligai his wife, Italians that came to France with the Queen, from being her confidants, now became her engrossing governing favourites, according to whose advice all things were fashioned. Sully, for his great practical knowledge of finance, and his known integrity, was continued, for a few years, at the head of the financial affairs of the kingdom, perplexed and thwarted in his labours by the caprices of the Queen and her greedy and unscrupulous favourites. He was a Huguenot, and she wished

to conciliate the whole body of the Reformed for the welfare of herself, the young King, and the nation.

On the 22d of May, eight days after the death of her husband, the Queen, still further to conciliate the Huguenots, declared in the name of the minor King, that he admitted the fact that the Edict of Nantes had established the tranquility of France, “Wherefore, although this Edict is perpetual and irreversible, and consequently needs not to be confirmed by farther declarations, still, in order that our said subjects may be assured of our protection, be it known, said, and ordered, that the aforesaid Edict of Nantes, in all its points and articles, shall be maintained and held inviolable.”

Soon after, to conciliate the Pope, the Queen caused letters to be addressed to him, preparing the way for a close alliance; and declaring a readiness for a treaty altogether favourable to the assumed visible head of the Romish Church.

In the second year of her regency, the Queen, still further to conciliate and attach to her interests the Huguenots, issued in the name of the King an Edict. “This first day of October, 1611, the King being at Paris, assisted by the Queen regent his mother in council, having been informed for what considerations the late King, of glorious memory, had, by a warrant of the 3d of April, 1598, granted unto his subjects of the Pretended Reformed religion, the yearly sum of forty-five thousand crowns, to be employed in some secret service of theirs; and though his present Majesty be not obliged by those secret articles, warrants, and answers unto memoirs, made in favour of these

his said subjects, to increase or augment the said sum ; yet nevertheless desiring, as much as in him lieth, to gratify and favour his said subjects, and that he may give them a sense of his good will and love to them, his Majesty, by the advice of the aforesaid lady, the Queen regent, and of his mere grace and liberality, doth grant unto those of the Protestant Reformed religion the above mentioned sum of forty-five thousand crowns, and over and above the same, another yearly sum of five and forty thousand livres as an act of bounty, which said money he wills and ordains that for the future it be issued out of the general funds of his treasury, by virtue of this present warrant, which to this purpose he hath signed with his own hand, and is countersigned by me, his Counsellor of State and Secretary of his Commandments." Signed, Louis; and a little lower, Philippeaux.

This was the last Edict favourable to the Huguenots ; and the gifts in it the last gifts ever made them by the crown. From this time their rights and privileges were steadily assailed, and one by one were all wrested from them. Unhappily for the Huguenots, their leaders became divided in their political councils in their first meeting during the reign of the young King ; and some, from mistaken policy or a desire to please the court and secure their own advancement, which Sully charges on them boldly, proposed measures which divided and weakened the body, when the greatest concert was absolutely necessary to meet the consequences of the Spanish alliance already planned, and the renewing the influence of the Spanish intrigues, which sought now, as in the time of the house



of Valois, the utter ruin of the Reformed in France, according to the tenor of the treaty of Chateau Cambresis. The Huguenots were now at the height of their prosperity: politically, they were soon broken; religiously, they suffered the fires of persecution, and with diminished numbers, maintained the purity of their faith and excellency of their practice as a church.

By consent of the Queen regent, a political assembly of the Huguenots was held in May, 1611. It was called for Chastellerault; the Duke De Bouillon prevailed to have the place of meeting changed to Saumur. The members disagreed in their choice of President. Some wished to put Sully, the financier and counsellor to the Queen, in the chair; others contended strongly for Bouillon. In the event, the choice fell on Du Plessis Mornay, a man of great integrity, firmness, and ability. The debates in this were violent, and protracted through four months. The great subject of discussion was, *the construction, and consequent administration* of the Edict of Nantes. Bouillon, with Lesdiguières, headed a party which took to itself the name of *judicious*. They contended that the Edict should be administered strictly as it was recorded. By this construction, no political assemblies were allowed. If any were called, it must be by consent of the King, from time to time obtained for a particular emergency. Du Plessis, Sully, and his son-in-law, Rohan, contended it should be construed and administered according to the declared will and permission of Henry IV., who had granted it. They contended that the Huguenots had been in the habit of political meetings, large and small, from the year

1560; and though permission for holding them was not granted in the Edict, yet Henry had permitted them to be held for the purpose of choosing deputies to reside at court, to make known their grievances and desires, and to decide upon the conduct of their deputies; and that the custom of the King's reign was equal in force to an Edict in such a matter. This party was designated by its opponents as the *zealous* or *unreasonable*. This was a vital question. Bouillon was anxious to have a place at court, and appears to have thought that Sully, by his sustaining the King in his change of religion, had gained his great influence at court; and not to have understood that the great financial abilities of Sully had given his specious council to the King all its weight. Bouillon had promised the Queen regent to use all his influence with the Huguenots in her favour, expecting to be the accredited means of communication between her and them. It may have appeared to him most judicious to cast all their political privileges and power into the hands of the court. And it also may have been that had the whole Huguenot body persisted in the opinions of the *zealous*, their final ruin would have been only delayed, not prevented. In their union had been their strength in gaining the crown for the Bourbons; in their union had been their strength in obtaining the Edict of Nantes from Henry IV.; in their union had been their strength in obtaining from the King that construction which had been the custom of his reign; and in their union was their strength now under the Queen regent, who felt their power when united, and was ready to take all advantage of any discord. In

most things the Zealous prevailed in the assembly ; in one thing the Judicious carried the vote. Instead of appointing two delegates to attend at court, it was determined by this assembly that six persons should be nominated for that office, out of whom the King should choose two. The appointing power was thus essentially in the hands of the King ; put there by the Huguenots themselves. Henry had proposed such a measure ; and the Huguenots had refused it.

While acting as President of this assembly, the great work for which he had long been making preparation, was given to the public by Du Plessis, in a folio volume with plates. It was entitled the *Mystery of Iniquity*. In this volume the passages about anti-Christ in the Revelation, are interpreted to mean the Pope of Rome. The numerals mentioned in the last verse of the 13th chapter of the Revelation, as amounting to six hundred and sixty and six, are deciphered according to the Roman numeral letters, and the name of the reigning Roman Pontiff, Pope Paul V., and mark him as the personification of anti-Christ. The book had a wide circulation among the Huguenots. The Romanists never forgave the author.

On the 14th of May, 1612, the Twentieth National Synod commenced its sessions at Privos in Vivaretz. Daniel Chamier presided.

A solemn oath was drawn up and subscribed by all the members to maintain inviolable the Confession of Faith of the Reformed Churches in France, and also the ecclesiastical discipline of the same. And it was made a standing rule that the deputies, before the moderator is chosen, “shall swear by the Eternal

God, that they have not, in their own persons, nor do they know that any other for them, or that any of their colleagues, have craftily or by any undue means and underhand dealings procured his or their deputations.”

A form was drawn up for all pastors in actual service, and for all candidates, to sign: “That union in doctrine may be preserved among us, and no errors may be suffered to creep into our churches, all pastors in actual service, and all candidates who are to be received into the ministry, shall sign the following article, viz: I, whose name is here under-written, do receive and approve the contents of the Confession of Faith of the Reformed Churches of this kingdom; and about the sense of the 18th article, I declare and protest before God that I understand it, that our Lord Jesus Christ was obedient to the moral and ceremonial law, not only for our good, but in our stead; and that His whole obedience, yielded by Him thereunto, is imputed to us; and that our justification consists, not only in the forgiveness of sins, but also in the imputation of His active righteousness; and, subjecting myself unto the word of God, I believe that the Son of Man came to serve, and that He was not a servant because He came into the world.” Then follows the promise of holding to the faith, and of obedience to the National Synod.

On the subject of marriage vows, the Synod made a distinction between promises of marriage to be consummated at a future time, and promises to be consummated at the time of promising; and at the same time, they declared that the promises for future con-

summation were not to be set aside without "very great and lawful causes."

It was ordered that there be sixteen Provincial Synods: 1st. Isle of France; 2d. Normandy; 3d. Brittany; 4th. Berry; 5th. Anjou; 6th. Poictou; 7th. Xantaigne; 8th. Lower Guyenne; 9th. Higher Languedoc; 10th. Bearn; 11th. Lower Languedoc; 12th. Province; 13th. Dauphiny; 14th. Sevennes; 15th. Vivaretz; 16th. Burgundy.

It being requested that some course might be pursued to prevent the violation of that canon made at St. Maixant, which forbids all professors in divinity to intermeddle with political assemblies; this Synod ordaineth that it be punctually observed; and in case any professors do accept of such deputation, whoever they shall be, they shall be punished with suspension from the professorship for the space of six months.

The course the Queen regent and the King intended to pursue with the Huguenots, after the success in dividing them at their last national assembly at Saumur, is foreshadowed by the Edict they sent into the National Synod, and dated 24th of April, 1612. In this Edict, the King first grants pardon to all his subjects of the "Pretended Reformed religion" who had met in provincial assemblies without his Majesty's special commission, since the National Assembly held by his permission at Saumur; and then proceeds: "We have prohibited, and do prohibit and forbid all those our said subjects, of the said religion, for the future, to make any congregations or assemblies, without first having got our royal license and permission expressly to this purpose, upon pain of being

punished as breakers of our Edicts and disturbers of the public peace. However, we do give them full liberty of holding their Consistories, Colloquies, and Provincial and National Synods, as hath been formerly granted to them, but with this condition, that they admit none other persons into them but ministers and elders, to treat of their doctrine and church discipline, upon pain of losing their privilege to hold these assemblies, and on all moderators of answering for it in their private and personal capacities."

To this Edict of pardon, the Synod replied by a solemn protest, asserting that the Reformed had committed no crimes for which such an Edict was required; and that as the Synod had not petitioned for pardon, the members would never make use of it.

Having divided the National Assembly, the court now, by this Edict, began the work of making a separation between the Synod and the National Assembly. The Synod had carefully guarded against transacting civil business in the Synodical meetings, and opposed any interference, by any persons whatever, in the proper business of Synod. The Edict was a warning not to do things the Synod never intended, or wished, or was likely ever to do; and to show the Huguenots that as the political meetings were not expressly permitted in the Edict of Nantes, but on the contrary forbidden, he should not consider the custom of his father through his reign of permitting these assemblies as having any force of law or permanent custom. The Synod had given no occasion for any such expression to it, by Edict or otherwise. The design of depriving the Huguenots of their political pri-

vileges by duplicity, fraud, and violence, was now evidently a matter of settled policy.

The Synod exhorted the Provincial Synod to collect carefully the history of those ministers and other Christians, who, in these last times, have suffered for the truths of the Son of God; and to transmit such memoirs as they collect to Geneva, that they may be inserted into the book of martyrs in the course of preparation. Also, that great attention be paid to the manner of preaching, that it be orthodox and in plain language. Also, that a day of fasting extraordinary be held on account of the divisions of a political nature that had sprung up among the Huguenots; and the irreligion prevailing at large. Also, requesting Monsieur Chamier to print immediately his controversial writings in three volumes; and two thousand livres were given for meeting his great expenses in preparing the volumes. Also, a letter was ordered to be sent to the Duchess of Tremaille, thanking her for her efforts for the preservation of union among the Huguenots; and also for the manner in which she brought up her children.

This same Twentieth National Synod, composed of thirty pastors and twenty-nine elders, the thirtieth having been detained by sickness, profoundly distressed by the forebodings of evil to come from the political dissensions among the Huguenots, which commenced at their meeting at Saumur, drew up, at length, an act of union, in which they say, “and all persons are exhorted to labour that the memory of past matters be buried in oblivion; that so the several *humours* and different opinions risen up in the as-

sembly of Saumur, may be balanced and composed and allayed; that the general desire of the Reformed Churches is that the affections of those who have been alienated from each other should be united and cemented. The Synod further determined that letters be written to Bouillon and Lesdeguières, exhorting and adjuring them in the name of God, that they resign their resentments; letters also to be written to Chatillon, Rohan, Sully, Soubrize, La Force, and Du Plessis, that they quit and forego their own particular resentments and discontents. And it shall be protested to all and every one of those lords, in the name and behalf of our churches, in the letters directed to them, of our intencion and resolution to consider, honour, and value them according to their families, qualities, dignities and merits, as being the most honourable members of our body." Moreover, this assembly entreateth and exhorteth that for God's sake, and the glory of His great name, and for their own salvation, and for the peace and welfare of the nation, yea, it adjures by all that is desirable or commendable, the whole body of our communion, in general, and every faithful soul in particular, to divest themselves of all animosities whatever, and to lop off immediately all dissolutions and dissensions, lest they should be the cause of the dissipation of the churches of God, in this kingdom, which have been planted in the blood of infinite martyrs, and preserved by the great zeal and concord of our fathers; and that they would at length open their eyes and see and consider that the enemies of the church build all their designs of ruining us upon our own intestine dissensions, and



that by reason of these, we are become very little and exceeding despicable with our adversaries." Pastors and elders are "enjoined to use all means in their power, even the severe censures of the church, to prevent any divisions in the Reformed as a body."

This Synod, having bound themselves in the most solemn manner to hold to the Confession of Faith and Discipline; and having addressed these solemn appeals to their political leaders, and the Huguenots in general to maintain a general union for the peace and safety of the whole body and nation at large; proceeded to remove, as far as possible, all causes of offence and irregularities in application to the King for redress and assistance, and required that all matters to be presented to the King should be put into the hands of the general deputies at court, and be by them presented in the ordinary way: And then adjourned.

It appears there were, at this time, six universities in operation, and preparations were making for others; that there were fourteen colleges established, and preparations, under the approbation of Synod, were making for others. All were under the oversight of the National Synod, and give a testimony for the Reformed in the early part of the reign of Louis XIII., that they were both friends and patrons of learning in general, and in the ministry in particular; and true patriots.

While the Huguenots were indulging in divisions in their political assembly, and their National Synod was putting forth all its efforts of warning and entreaty to promote peace, not only among the churches

as such, but the whole body as a political association, the Queen regent was negotiating with the Pope, and by his aid, with the King of Spain, a double marriage, uniting her court with the deceased King's great enemy. The young King was to espouse the Infanta of Spain, by name Anne of Austria, and the Prince of Asturias, the eldest son of the King of Spain, was to receive as a wife the eldest sister of the King of France. The court of France was now under the influence of the Pope of Rome and the King of Spain, and more particularly governed by the two Italian favourites. Among the prominent persons at court, and of those whose influence was felt in politics, there was not a single friend of the Reformed Church as a church, or the Huguenots as a body. Sully was making his preparations for private life; Lesdeguières negotiating for a post of honour and profit to be secured by his abjuration; and Bouillon was beguiled with hopes by the artful Queen.

The nobles of the Romish Church were satisfied with the general politics of the court. All parties were indignant that the favours and honours were engrossed and disposed of by the two Italian favourites. For a time, the murmurs were suppressed by hope of some change to their advantage, and by fear lest some rival should gain that advantage. The favourite alone went on boldly and successfully. In the year 1613, Condé, a political leader of the Huguenots and a prince of the blood, demanded a position of influence at the court of his young relative, as his by right of descent. Other nobles, both Huguenot and Romish in their faith, made a similar demand, as Frenchmen,

in opposition to the foreign favourites. The Queen regent endeavoured to gratify the aspirants for power and wealth, by a prodigal use of the treasures and financial preparations of the late King; at the same time retaining her favourites with increased marks of her favour. The intrigues of the court at home and abroad may fill some pages in the history of courts, and impress one truth, that duplicity and fraud bring their own reward; and that the pleasures of a dissipated court end in sadness of heart.

Under the influence of the Pope and the King of Spain, the politics, or the designs and wishes of the court were settled. Personally, the Queen regent, and King, and their favourites, were resolved to enjoy the pleasures of unrestrained indulgence, purchased by a vast income from the well-regulated finances. Publicly, or for matters concerning the management of the nation, it was evidently the design of the Pope, the Spanish King, and the French court, to root out all opposition to, or dissent from, the Romish Church and the Pope as head of the church, and to establish the absolute authority of the King over all nobles, provinces, cities, or towns, whether Romish or Huguenot. And to accomplish these ends, duplicity, fraud, and violence, might be used to any extent required. Everything that might aid in bringing France to be the beau ideal of a kingdom in the eyes of the Pope and of Spain were considered lawful. They chose an end, absolute sway in Church and State; pronounced it good; an end that would sanctify the means that should lead to it. The man that should reduce to order the designs and plans in-

volved in these schemes was not yet even thought of by the French court; and though growing up in the Church of Rome, not known to the Pope himself.

The spirit of the Twenty-First National Synod, assembled, May 2d, 1614, at Tonniens, in Lower Guienne, is of especial interest to all that look back through history for examples of good or ill, for warning or encouragement. This Synod, in comparison with other public bodies that met in France, or elsewhere, about this time, manifested a spirit of unequalled excellence, a spirit of peace and good will to all the various political or religious associations in France or in Europe. This Synod aimed at two things, unity of action among the Reformed in France, and agreement in doctrine among all the Protestant churches of Europe. Never before or since was she in a position more favourable for efficient action, or one in which the spirit and temper of the church would be more likely to be revealed.

Letters were received from the Dukes Rohan and Sully, and the Lord Du Plessis and Chatillon, in reply to those sent them by the last Synod, expressing their attachment to the faith and discipline of the Reformed Churches, and their concurrence with the efforts of Synod for harmony of doctrine in the churches, and also the necessity of harmony on all subjects, both religious and political, in the whole body of the Reformed in France.

A letter was received from James I. of England, urging concert of action upon the whole body of the Reformed, and inviting them to union with him and the Protestants generally for a common confession of

belief and unity of religious practice. To this a kind answer was returned. The letter from King James was submitted to the inspection of Louis to allay his fears of a correspondence with a foreign prince.

The subject of a conference with the Protestant churches abroad, and a plan of religious union, were taken up and discussed at large. The conference was agreed to, and a plan of union, with its details, was under consideration. No difficulty was anticipated, except from the Lutherans; and with them, only on the subject of the sacrament. It was thought all might be united in a formula of faith except the Pope; and his objections would be confined to his supremacy and the sacraments and traditions. But they thought it might be demonstrated to him that there was agreement on some articles of faith; union with him, however, was not expected or desired. In the discussions on the union with foreign churches, benevolence rather than sagacity took the lead. All things favourable to the union were looked at, and those unfavourable were overlooked. The temper of the French Synod was peace with all true Christian churches, and union on all important matters with foreign churches, and concert of action at home among the Reformed.

The difficulties in the way of a foreign union soon became apparent and insurmountable, and the project was abandoned. The difficulties were, the tenacity with which the characteristics of the churches of different nations were held, quite disproportioned to their importance; the jealousy with which the civil rulers of the different nations looked upon the union of the

church in their own dominions with the churches of other nations, fearing some political connection; and lastly, no great object for mutual action was presented to the churches to be accomplished by this visible union, such as the wider circulation of the Bible and missions to the heathen. The visible union of churches of different States was found to consist in the harmony of their confessions of faith, the purity of their discipline, and their godly living; in agreement without uniformity; in mutual forbearance; and in submission of conscience to the word of God understood according to the rules of language and compared with other parts of the Scriptures. In the conferences held on this subject, and in the discussions, the French churches exhibited a spirit of kindness and conciliation. But finding that close intercourse with foreign churches was a cause of suspicion with their own government, the ministers that, in their benevolence, could embrace all Christians, were constrained, from motives of prudence, to correspond with foreign churches in a very general way; and ultimately to relinquish it altogether. Private correspondence continued.

Respecting their allegiance to the King, the Synod declared, "that there is an indispensable necessity for imploring the good blessing of God upon the beginning and progress of the King's personal government, who will shortly be declared major, and that the public weal of the State may be promoted, the peace and union of our churches may be more firmly established, that therefore we be called out to celebrate a public fast in all the churches of this kingdom."

Accordingly, the 4th day of September was appointed to be observed as a day of solemn prayer, humiliation and fasting.

A political assembly of the Huguenots was, by permission of the King, called to meet at Grenoble on the 25th of August, 1614, about three months after the meeting of their National Synod. Against the will of the King, the Assembly transferred itself to Nismes. The influence of the Duke of Condé prevailed to give the transactions of this body a hostile appearance. He evidently wished to renew and augment his influence at court by the strength of the Reformed as a political party, while the Huguenots, as a Christian people, were striving to prevent all collision with the court on any pretext. Condé, in estimating the power of the Huguenots in the contest for the succession that ended in bringing the Bourbons to the throne, appears to have overlooked the fact, that the leader of the Huguenots, in the war with Catharine de Medici and the League, was the King of Navarre, and that at the close of the wars, he was Henry IV., King of France; and that the present King, Louis XIII., was his son and the lawful King of France, so acknowledged by the Reformed; that there was no contest now about who should succeed the present King; and any violence against him now by any part of the Huguenots would rebound to the injury of all and the whole nation; and that if there were apprehensions of a failure of that line of the Bourbons, there must first be an union of the Huguenots on the person to succeed him, before their force could be of any effect. In case of a contest for a successor to the

crown from another line, the united body of the Huguenots would have great, and probably decided influence, particularly if those opposed to their cause were not entirely united on an opposing candidate. Condé appears to have had little regard to the religious interests of the Reformed. He sought his own advancement ; and the public good in subservience to it.

The Assembly at Nismes did nothing to conciliate the King or insure the union of the Huguenots in political matters. As yet there was no cause for war ; the court abstained from that. The fact of foreign favourites at court, and many provocations given to the Reformed, were grievances to be borne or remedied by other means than Condé proposed. He was not the man to be chosen by the Huguenots as their leader, or in any emergency as their King.

The States General of France were assembled on the 25th of October, 1614. There was no leader in opposition to the court of ability to lead in measures to change the course of affairs so far as to remove the obnoxious favourites, Concinni and his wife. They did nothing to harmonize the nobles or satisfy the court. Louis XIII. never called another meeting. Louis XIV. never submitted anything to their judgment and decision. Louis XV. followed his example. Louis XVI., the fifth of the Bourbon line, called a meeting ; and in the event was consigned to the guillotine.

As anticipated by the Synod, the King was declared by Parliament to have attained his majority at the age of fourteen. The regency now ceased. The King, in assuming the government, retained the obnoxious fa-



avourite. The Edict of Nantes was solemnly confirmed as a mark of favour to the Reformed. The nobles of all rank did not fail to express their disapprobation of the favourites. Political matters were in confusion; and the dissipation at court was on the increase. The King consummated his marriage with Anne of Austria, the infanta of Spain, marching with an armed force to the borders of his kingdom to receive his bride; and contracting a great dislike to the Reformed, through whose provinces he passed to meet his Queen. Condé, for his open discontent, was confined in the Bastile, and many nobles retired from court.

In 1617, a sudden revolution took place. The King became enamoured of a new favourite by name of Luinnes, and ordered the arrest of the obnoxious old one. Concinni resisted the officers, and was immediately slain. The Queen regent was confined to her apartment, and then banished to Blois. Galligai, the female favourite, had a trial, and was condemned and executed for treason. "Her only means of influence," she said, "over the Queen regent was that which a strong mind has over a weak one."

On the 18th of the May following the revolution so unexpected and complete, the Twenty-Second National Synod of the Reformed commenced its sessions at Vitré, in Brittany. Andrew Revit presided.

Immediately on its organization, a committee was appointed to wait on the King to congratulate him for the late revolution; that the kingdom was in peace, and his Majesty at liberty; that France had now a King worthy to reign. The committee promised alle-

giance in the name of the Reformed Churches. They declared, "that next, and after God, we do acknowledge your Majesty to be our only sovereign, and it is an article of our creed, that there is no middle power between God and the Kings."

His Majesty gave a brief answer: "Do you continue to serve me faithfully, and you may be well assured that I will be a good and kind King unto you, and that I will preserve you according to my Edicts."

The Synod enjoined on all churches the more frequent catechising than ever, leaving the manner of expounding it, "whether sermon-wise or by question and answer," to the prudence of the Consistories. It passed a vote of thanks to Pastor Daniel Chamier for having now ready for the press three volumes of his controversial writings. An agreement was made with a printer at Saumur to bring out the work before the next fair at Frankfort.

A donation of two thousand livres was made to the author for his great expenses in getting the work ready for the press.

The General Deputy came in the sixth day of sessions, and declared that the King's letters patent "for exempting our ministers from payment of taxes were granted, but not yet verified."

About the union of the Reformed Churches, after consultation, it was judged expedient "that we should make a little halt till such time as those who had first made the overtures did prosecute the affair with more vigour."

It appeared that the number of pastors at this time

in the actual service of the churches was seven hundred and thirty-one; and six candidates.

Political affairs were now hurrying on in confusion and distress. The fruit of the Spanish marriages, the King with the Infanta, and his sister with the heir apparent of Spain, began to show themselves openly to the nation and the world. The secret treaty of Henry II. and Philip I. was the basis of action; and the ultimate destruction of the Reformed the great object. The Queen mother escaped from her imprisonment at Blois, by letting herself down from the walls into the ditch one dark night, with one attendant. She took her jewels with her. Her friends assembled in arms to demand for her more favourable terms from the favourite Luinnes.

The King released Condé from prison to lead his forces. He succeeded speedily in routing the Queen's forces. Terms of reconciliation were proposed. In this negotiation, Richlieu, the man that acted ultimately the prominent part in giving form and force to the King's wishes, made his introduction to the notice of the King. He had been the confidant of the Queen mother. And now, as her confidential adviser, he persuaded her to accept of terms less advantageous to herself and more favourable to her son, than the young King expected. It is recorded that Luinnes had promised that he would ask for him a cardinal's hat. It was some years before he had the management of affairs at court, and this act of treachery would not be worthy of special notice, except to introduce the man that succeeded in destroying the political privileges of the Huguenots.

The first act of Louis XIII. against the Reformed was done ostensibly upon the advice of Luinnes, his favourite. But the adroitness of the plan of proceeding was so like the whole course of Richlieu's life at court it would seem to have a common source. It was the first step in a series of successful efforts. If Luinnes was the author of it, he taught Richlieu the art of duplicity, while in the service of a deceptive Queen in a faithless court. Louis XIII. inherited from his father, besides the crown of France, the kingdom of his grandmother, Jean De Albert. It had been reduced to the narrow boundary of Bearne; Navarre having been seized and retained by Spain. Instead of urging him to recover Navarre, as his father Henry had designed, he advised him to abridge the independent sovereignty of the little kingdom and govern it as a province of France. This would scarcely have been worthy of special notice. Connected with this change, there was to be a religious revolution. In the time of the mother of Henry IV., this kingdom had generally embraced the faith of the Reformed; and the Romish forms existed by toleration. This little State had been the refuge of the persecuted. Her deputies in attendance on the National Synod of France were permitted to bring commissions, in which some promises made by delegates from the churches in France were omitted in consideration of the independence of Bearne, now united with France in the same King. These churches were now to be divested of their privileges; and all the property once in the hands of the Romish Church, with the houses of worship, were to be returned to

the possession of that church, and the Reformed Churches of Bearne to be put in the same position as the other Reformed Churches in France, dependent on the construction the King might choose to give the Edict of Nantes.

This project of the King was resisted by the Parliament of Paris with great vehemence. The Parliament could see plainly that if Bearne could be divested of her ancient rights, no province or city in France was safe. It was a step to despotic power under pretence of consolidating the kingdom. Whoever projected this step projected the plan followed out by Louis XIII. and XIV., till France became a consolidated kingdom; and nobles, Romish and Huguenot, without respect to antiquity of claims or personal merit, were despoiled of their ancestral rights. The merit of the Edicts for this step were in discussion during the years 1618 and 1619.

A political assembly of the Reformed was held, by leave of the King, at Loudon, commencing September, 1619.

The discussions were heated. It was evident that evil was intended for the Reformed. But the great question was the remedy. Bearne was the appendage of the crown. Who should begin the resistance to the King's arbitrary purposes? All the nobles in the kingdom were interested. On what ground should resistance be made, and who should take the lead? There was great division of sentiment. The usual bill of grievances and requests was presented. The King ordered the Assembly to disperse and wait for

his answer. The Assembly demanded an answer before it dispersed.

The King, irritated by the Assembly, pressed his designs upon Bearne; and declared that unless his Edict was enrolled by Parliament, he would himself be present and have it done by force. He was obeyed. Collecting his forces, he marched for Bearne, declaring that neither the ruggedness of the mountains, nor the lateness of the seasons, nor the poverty of the country, should hinder its speedy conquest.

The King accomplished his purpose, and the revolution was completed. Bearne became a province; the religion of France became its established religion, and all the church property changed their hands; and the Reformed were reckoned as holding their toleration under the Edict of Nantes.

The Twenty-Third meeting of the National Synod commenced its sessions at Alez, October 1st, 1620, while the King was yet engaged in settling the state of Bearne. From its records it appears to have been a learned, dignified, and temperate body. In calling for a general fast on the 14th of November, at Alez, where the body was in session, and the first Thursday of March, 1621, for the other Reformed Churches, the Synod make this short notice of Bearne: "The late doleful changes happened in the churches of Bearne, and in divers other churches and provinces united and incorporated with us, which are either ruined, or on the brink of ruin." Letters were received from Dukes Rohan and Lesdiguieres, the Lord of Chatillon, expressive of their adherence to the faith,

Messrs. Du Maulin, Chamier, and Rivet, the committee on union, reported that they set out on their journey to the Synod of Dort; but at Genoa, receiving intelligence that the King had forbidden their attendance, they had returned home.

The Synod expressed its desire for peace and union, and the preservation of a Christian spirit in the ministry, by forbidding all ministers to treat of State affairs in their sermons, or pulpit discourses, "because the only subject of their sermons and public preachings should be the holy word of God," on pain of suspension from the holy ministry. And because the province of Languedoc was greatly distracted by ministers at the public assemblies, the Synod "forbideth most expressly all ministers in that province, and all the other provinces of this kingdom, to accept of any deputations unto court." The Synod declared its wish "to prevent all pastors of churches from intermeddling with political affairs." All offenders to be prosecuted "with the severest censures."

The Articles drawn up at the Synod of Dort, from which Synod the delegates from France had been debarred by the command of the King, were read in Synod; "and being pondered most attentively, they were all received and approved by a common unanimous consent, as agreeing with the word of God and the Confession of Faith of these Reformed Churches." A form was drawn for all to subscribe: "I swear and promise to persevere in the profession of this doctrine during my whole life, and defend it with the utmost of my power." The same was to be administered to all members of the Provincial Synods. The National

Synod had all along expressed a readiness to unite with the other churches of Protestants in a confession, or formula, to be held as a common bond. It had agreed to permit some latitude of construction in order to produce agreement. This Synod of Dort, being summoned to give an expression or formula, and being composed of able men from the Island of Great Britain and the continent, and having sent forth this formula, short and comprehensive, the National Synod of France adopted it as a general formula in which they could cheerfully agree, as a bond of union and communion, and very general expression of the truth.

The meeting of the National Synod at Tonnien, in the year 1614, had expressed a most commendable spirit of kindness, and readiness to meet the brethren of other communions. This year it expresses a spirit equally as commendable, of firmly avowing what it believed to be the truth. It was ready to defend to the utmost what it received in kindness as true. And then to affirm its own identity, it re-affirmed its own longer Confession of Faith as the external bond holding in union and fellowship the Churches of France, which were at this time entering into a great and fiery trial, which tested all men's souls of what spirit they were, and consumed much dross. Another form was drawn up, embracing the Article on union of the whole body of the Reformed in France. And the members also swore to and subscribed "the oaths of union, promising to continue inseparably united and conjoined in that Confession of Faith owned and professed by the Reformed Churches in this kingdom."



This Synod girded itself for its great trial, and did what it could to gird and unite the whole Huguenot body for a great struggle and for a great sacrifice. And the Confession of Faith having now been read, word by word, and examined in every particular point, "was most heartily approved and sworn to by all the deputies present." The deputies also promised "to cause it to be sworn to by their principals, by whom they were commissioned." The Articles of discipline were then read carefully, and subscribed to by all present.

In the laws for the universities which were, after consideration for years, adopted at this meeting, it was required that, if practicable, there be two professors of theology; one to teach common-place or systematical theology, and the other to expound Scripture; and if possible, there should be two professors to expound Scripture, one the Old Testament and the other the New Testament. The whole body of rules for theological seminaries are worthy of the closest attention of all who direct such schools.

This Synod also determined that a pastor might teach Hebrew, but not teach Greek; for in teaching Hebrew, he must use the Scriptures; but in teaching Greek, there would be the use of a great multitude of profane authors, which would draw off the mind from the work of a pastor.

The Prince of Orange, the Curators of the University of Leyden, and the Burgomaster of the city, by letters asked that Monsieur Rivet might be continued as professor in the University of Leyden. Leave was granted to him to remain for two years. Thanking

Monsieur Perrin for his work on the history of the Vaudois and Albigenses; leaving it to his discretion whether he would write a general history of the Church; and exhorting the Province of Dauphiny to see to the education of his son who was reclaimed from the Jesuits and was preparing for the ministry, the Synod adjourned December 2nd, 1620, having been in session more than two months. Turretine, pastor and professor of divinity at Geneva, was present at this meeting, and was invited to a seat and a vote. He brought letters from Geneva to the Synod.

The inhabitants of Bearne took advantage of the gentleness and favour of La Force, who had been left to carry into effect the King's intention about the province, and resumed the possession of their church edifices falling to ruin for want of occupation, and reclaimed their church property for their pastors. Encouraged by the spirit of the political assembly at Loudon, which had continued its sessions against the repeated orders of the King, until April of 1620, the Bearnoese were proceeding to resume their ancient rights. The King sent the Duke De Esperon for their reduction. The courage of the Bearnoese was by no means equal to their presumption; and the Duke in two months entirely overrun the country, and without bloodshed, and almost without opposition, subdued in their fortresses and holds, "a people that knew not how to resist nor how to obey."

The political assembly of the Huguenots, that had met at Loudon, at the close of their long session, determined not to dissolve their meetings or adjourn

*sine die*, but adjourned to meet again when called, assembled at Rochelle on the 24th of December.

The Assembly held numerous sessions ; the debates earnest, and sometimes violent ; the subjects of discussion of the deepest interest. The members equalled in boldness and decision the members of the National Synod that adjourned on the 2d of the month ; but fell far short of them in moderation and statesmanship. Luinnes, the favourite, was supposed to be the author of the councils against Bearne. If he could be successfully resisted and driven from the court, there was hope for better councils and the quiet enjoyment of their rights. The Assembly did not know any more clearly than the National Synod, the true source of the policy against them, that it was to be found in the Pope and the King of Spain and the ecclesiastics of France ; but the political assembly did not seem to know as well as the Synod the best way to meet the difficulties of their case. The great question was on what ground and under whom they should rally. Louis XIII. was the rightful King ; there was no pretender to the throne ; the Romish nobles were as much interested as the Reformed in resisting the subjugation of Bearne on all grounds but the religious one. Some of the Assembly were for taking arms in the name of the Reformed as a body, without reflecting that the body, strong if united, was not united ; and that if they took the lead, the Romish nobles would not readily follow, if happily they did not oppose.

Du Plessis, wise in council as in the days of Henry IV., politically and religiously a devoted Huguenot,

unsuspicious and unsuspected, unfaltering in his principles and course of action, was at this time opposed to violent action. He thought the time had not come for the Huguenots to take arms for the rights of the nobles of the Romish faith unless they showed a spirit to take the lead. Bouillon, a Huguenot by education and habit, and to a great degree by conviction, but not very scrupulous, strongly opposed taking arms. He was one that favoured strict construction of the Edict of Nantes; and thought to be desirous of court favour. Lesdiguières, the old soldier, was opposed to violent measures as impolitic at this time, particularly as other measures might induce the King to change his course.

To these it was replied that Du Plessis was timid through age and infirmity; that Bouillon was swayed by interest and ambition, and that Lesdiguières was more cautious than in his younger days, and that a Marshal's baton was held up to glitter in his eyes as the gift of Majesty.

The Assembly determined to prepare for war, by raising an army, levying taxes, and choosing commanders. Bouillon was chosen the leader, or first in command; next was Lesdiguières; and so on through a list of able men. Could the Reformed have been unanimous, they would have been a formidable body. The King calculated on the division. He had already gained Condé; and lures were held out to Bouillon and Lesdiguières; he knew they would not fight him then, though no noble in France had greater cause to tremble for his little sovereignty. When the Assembly asked of the King to allow them the privi-

leges confirmed to them by his predecessors, Henry III. and Henry IV., that is, would he allow the free construction of the Edict of Nantes that Henry IV. gave it, he, irritated by their holding this meeting against his wishes, said: "The one acted out of fear, and the other out of love; but for my part, I wish you to know I neither love nor fear you."

The favourite Luinnes, encouraged by the rapidity and success of his movements against Bearne, proposed to the King to take the cautionary towns from the Reformed the Edict of Nantes had given them for eight years; and at the end of that time Henry IV. had permitted them to remain in the hands of the Huguenots at their earnest request, with the verbal promise that they should remain indefinitely, at his pleasure.

The young men at court, longing for promotion and aggrandizement, and expecting an easy conquest, urged on the project: the Romish clergy greatly desired its accomplishment; and the Spanish influence at court approved it. The reasoning was short; the Edict of Nantes had been confirmed by Louis XIII.; and of course there was now no need of the cautionary towns after more than twice the time of their limitation has expired; and the possession of them by the Huguenots, now no longer required by law or usage, was the means of resisting the King's government, and consequently they should be taken back by the crown. The King approved the plan. Leaving Paris early in April, 1621, he issued from Fontainebleau a new declaration against the meeting at Rochelle as rebellious; announced his purpose of visit-

ing the disturbed provinces, and promised protection to all the Reformed who kept their allegiance. Lesdiguières took the part of Lieutenant under the favourite, who held the office of Constable, without having been trained to war or having seen a battle, and prepared to fight his old associates, whether for conscience' sake or a Marshall's position, and put down the faith he once professed and had so lately reprofessed to the Synod.

The Huguenot Assembly prepared to meet the King's army; and appointed Saubise, La Tremouille, Rohan, Chatillon, La Force and his two sons as commanders, reserving to itself the paramount authority. To its commissions and its ordinances it affixed a seal. On their banners were the words, "For Christ and the King," and "For Christ and His Flock;" proclaiming their old principle, that Christ was the highest King and claimed allegiance first; that they owed allegiance next to the King; that the war was for the flock of Christ and against a tyrannical Minister, and not against their King; and to change the Ministry and not the King.

Bouillon refused to command. He advised the Assembly, if war was intended, and the cautionary towns to be defended by arms, to proceed immediately and put a garrison of six thousand men in Saurmur, the stronghold of Du Plessis on the Loire. That by so doing they would prevent the war altogether, as the King would not advance upon the Southern provinces with that stronghold in his rear; or it would change the theatre and whole face of the war. For some unexplained reason this advice was neglected.

Spies in the Assembly reported to Luinnes this counsel ; and the King's forces began to move towards the place.

It had been the custom, when the King visited a cautionary town, for the forces of the town to be withdrawn from the citadel and be encamped in the suburbs while his Majesty was in the place. On his departure, the forces returned to the citadel and resumed the protection of the town. While in possession of the citadel, the King received the most splendid entertainment the citizens could give. The King came to the walls of Saumur. Luinnes, the favourite and Constable, gave Du Plessis assurance that the immunities of the town should be preserved inviolate by this visit of the King's forces. Lesdiguieres, the Lieutenant and old acquaintance of Du Plessis, and as yet one of the Huguenots in profession, gave assurances to the same effect, that the visit was short, and the immunities were all safe. The King himself sent him assurances of the safety of the town and the peaceable nature of his visit. What should he do? Should he shut the gates and begin the war? or should he trust his sovereign? Incapable of deception himself, he chose to trust the sovereign and the court officers. He withdrew his forces from the castle and encamped them near the town. On the 17th of May, the royal train entered the town; and under pretext that there was no place large enough in the town for their convenience, did the unusual thing of taking possession of the citadel. Not a single apartment was left for Du Plessis. In a short time his Cabinet was ransacked for his papers: his library was

plundered ; the silver clasps on a splendid edition of his own works were torn from the volumes ; and some of his works cast into the castle ditch. Du Plessis was overwhelmed with astonishment at the reports brought him of the plunder of his private rooms. When it was announced to him that the King would retain Saumur as a military post for himself, and that his private losses should be remunerated : that the arrears due him as commander of the post should all be paid immediately ; that one hundred thousand crowns should be added ; and that he should have the baton of Marshal of the kingdom ; the old man exclaimed, "Never was I assailed by a bribe. Had I loved money, I might have been in possession of millions. And as for honours, I was always more solicitous to deserve them than eager to obtain them. Neither in honour or in conscience can I sell the liberty and security of others. I will never bargain with my sovereign. I am always ready to render him becoming obedience. All I demand is adherence to the promises which it has been the King's pleasure to offer, that he will make no changes in Saumur ; a matter no less important to the King's private interest than to the welfare of the kingdom."

The King determined to retain Saumur. A garrison was left in the citadel ; Du Plessis was compelled to retire. The remainder of his days he passed in privacy and comparative poverty, and came to his end November 11th, 1623, in his 74th year, in about two years and a half from this disgrace and mortification, that the man who first trusted his Majesty should be the first to be ruined.



The Constable had promised him about the castle “that he would touch it no sooner than the apple of his own eye;” the King had repeated it after him, that “he would touch the castle no sooner than the apple of his own eye.” And yet they had deceived him. The young King had never known an honest counsellor since he took the reins of government. His mother had deceived him from a child; and taught him to deceive. He loathed his teachers as wearisome and deceptive. His court practiced all impurity under the names of gallantry and virtue. All had conspired to make him willful and faithless. He rejoiced in deceiving by gross falsehood an honest old soldier and counsellor whom his father had honoured. Du Plessis died as he had lived, an honest and brave man. In writing to a friend, he says: “On all occasions I have endeavoured to commit myself to God in well-doing; and if I have not the art of living for the world as well as some others, I have laboured earnestly to know how to die becomingly.” His desire was granted. He had held the Huguenot faith all his active life, through all discouragements; discreet in the Cabinet of Henry IV.; brave in the field; pure in his morals. His honest rebukes gained him the honour of his King; the honesty of his heart, and unwillingness to doubt the honour of Louis XIII., lost him his castle, and for a time his honour. The inventory of his estate, after his death, silenced all the calumnies that had been circulated of him, that he had delivered up Saumur for a consideration. He had impoverished himself for others; and after his death men blessed him for his self-sacrifice. Next to

Coligny the Admiral stands Du Plessis Mornay in the ranks of the honourable of the Huguenot dead. There is no stain upon his memory. Some have thought that he failed in his statesmanship in believing the King and admitting him to Saumur, as the Constable believed Charles IX. and his mother, and was entrapped in Paris; and yet, in both cases, the principles on which the men acted were sound. There was nothing to set up as true in opposition to the protestations and oaths of the sovereign. Had there been anything reliable to offer, as opposed to the oaths of Majesty, then their statesmanship might be questioned. As it is, their position is safe for all time. They acted on principles of truth and honour. The honour of both put them in the power of their sovereigns, and contrary to all right, that power was used for their destruction. We admire Coligny and Du Plessis: we abominate Luinnes and Louis XIII. It is safe following Coligny and Du Plessis forever. It is not safe to follow Louis XIII. for any period of time.

Having perfidiously accomplished his purpose at Saumur, the King passed on through Poictou and the provinces farther South, sending forth his proclamations declaring Rochelle, where the political assembly was in session, and St. Jean De Angely, where Duke Saubize was collecting armed forces, to be in rebellion. All their privileges were annulled, and all intercourse forbidden; and all Huguenots were called on to renounce, before a magistrate, the Acts of the Assembly, and to declare their readiness to serve against it, at the King's bidding. The cautionary

towns in his path were called upon to open their gates as Saumur had done; and whether deceived, as Du Plessis had been, or through fear or a desire to gain favour of the court, the gates were opened and the citadels surrendered. As a reward, all the military defences were destroyed. Sully, the favourite minister of Henry IV., and by him indulged in his faith and his attachment to the Huguenots, was placed in an unhappy position by the King. He had opposed the war measures of the Huguenot Assembly as uncalled for, and of consequence unwise. The King insisted on his giving a writing condemning the Assembly and its acts; and then used it as he had the act of Du Plessis in delivering up the citadel of Saumur.

The character and designs of the King were now understood by all. He had purposely provoked the Huguenots; they unwisely permitted the provocation to have its intended effect in taking up arms; and now he declares them in rebellion; and by deceptions and open falsehoods was proceeding to seize the fortified towns in their possession. Some few of the smaller towns ventured to close their gates. One under the Duke Saubize defended itself for about a month. Almost every building was battered down; and the whole place a scene of ruins. Terms of surrender were accepted. The citizens preserved little besides their lives; the fortifications were destroyed and the privileges of the town abolished. After a brief investment, Clanoe surrendered at discretion. The minister of the place, La Fargue, with his father, father-in-law, and other citizens, were publicly exe-

cut; and part of the garrison were murdered in cold blood.

The Assembly at Rochelle issued an apology, in which the artifices and deceptions practiced by the court upon the Huguenots were numbered up in fearful array; and the principles of the Jesuits exposed, particularly their readiness to participate in the murder of Kings excommunicated by the Pope; and their enmity to all authority not emanating from Rome. A reply in the King's name, without his official signature, declared that all the evils under which the kingdom groaned for the last sixty years was owing to the Reformed; referring to the time the Huguenots came out in a body to assist Henry of Navarre, the father of Louis XIII., in his struggle for the crown of France.

The tide of success attending the King's army was arrested at Montauban. La Force and Count De Oival, son of the Duke of Sully, associated in the command of the garrison, defended the place with great skill and vigour, repulsing all the assaults made by Luinnes, in the presence of the King. The Duke of Mayence, struck by a ball in his eye, was killed. His death greatly affected the King. The news of it excited the rabble in Paris, devoted to the Guise family. The Fauxbourg of St. Martel, occupied by the Huguenot artificers, was assaulted; the vigorous interference of the magistrates alone saved it. At Charenton, a few miles from Paris, the Church of the Reformed, with its library and some private dwellings, were burnt. Lives were lost on both sides. The ringleaders of the tumult at Charenton were arrested

and sent to the galleys. The magistrates hastened the departure of Dominic, a Jesu Maria, a fanatical Spanish Carmelite, by whose preaching the rioters had been encouraged. This man came last from Bavaria, inflated by the honours paid to him even by the nobility. Shreds of his garments were carefully kept as relics of healing virtue. The objects of his greatest abhorrence were the Reformed. Pretending a mission to the King of France, the Governor of the Capitol, hastened his progress to camp, that he might fulfil it. Sedition followed his steps. His entrance into Tours was marked by insurrection. The vigilance of the magistrates prevented a massacre at Saumur after his preaching. In the royal camp before Montauban, he was received with enthusiasm. He distributed relics, and the superstitious soldiery thronged "the thrice blessed father." The Constable applied to him for aid; and was assured that the city would surrender after four hundred rounds of artillery should be discharged against the ramparts. The King and the Constable looked for a miracle like the fall of Jericho. Bassompierre, the commander of the artillery, said: "The King ordered me to give the number of shot; which I did: but the enemy did not surrender for all that." Within the town was a loss as greatly mourned as the death of the Duke of Mayence by the besiegers. A cannon ball marked C struck Daniel Chamier, pastor and professor of divinity; and on a Sabbath morning suddenly dismissed him to his immortal crown. The Reformed loved to call him the Great Chamier; and his works, published by re-

quest of Synod, were of the highest authority long after his death.

Unable to prevent the Duke of Rohan from throwing great numbers of reinforcements into the city, the Constable and the King became discouraged. Watch fires were kindled; and the noise in the camp aroused the besieged to meet an assault. The King's army rapidly marched away, and when the movement was discovered, were beyond the reach of the garrison. Luinnes, chagrined at this failure attributed to his want of generalship, and fearing the loss of the King's favour, languished under a fever and soon died. Before his death he prepared two letters; in the first, addressed to the Duke of Montbazon, he describes, in strong terms, the extreme misery endured by the army; and attributes the failure at Montauban to the great prevalence of sickness and the rashness of the Duke of Mayence.

The King passed the winter without a favourite or a master. The Cardinal De Retz and Schonberg, superintendent of finances, were not for peace. Condé, that had inflamed the Huguenots for war, now in the court, greedy of the confiscation that would ensue, was for war. Jeannin, the President of the Council, was for peace. He said a season of repose would be more harmful to the Huguenots than war; for in peace it would be their interest to conform; in war, an advance of fortune was to be obtained only by vigorous resistance.

The King resolved on war, and hastened to commence hostilities early in the spring. The inhabitants

of Negrepelisse had, during the winter, risen upon the royal garrison of 400 men, and in one night massacred them. On the 8th of June, the King put the entire population to the sword. On the 22nd of the month, the garrison of St. Anthoneis, after a gallant defence which was made their crime, were all murdered, and the women of that unhappy town were all violated.

Success attended the King until he came to Montpellier in September. The siege was commenced. After six weeks, the King became discouraged, and fearing a failure as at Montauban, Lesdeguieres was employed to treat with the Duke of Rohan for peace. The conference was brief; a treaty of peace was signed in the camp on the 9th of October, 1622. The Edict of Nantes was the basis of the treaty. The Romish faith was declared the established faith of the kingdom. Political assemblies, held without the previous consent of the King, were declared treasonable. Consistories, Colloquies, and Synods, Provincial and National, might meet for religious purposes; but in these all politics or political discussions were forbidden.

The strict constructionists of the Assembly at Saumur, 1611, of which Lesdeguieres with Bouillon were the leaders, had, by the King's forces, succeeded, or we may say the King had, by his army, established the strict construction of the Edict of Nantes. All political assemblies, except those called by special leave of the King, were treasonable; and the cautionary towns had no longer a legal existence.

The King rewarded Lesdeguieres with the office of

Marshal of the kingdom. With a parade of ceremonies the old man renounced the faith of the Reformed and was admitted into the Church of Rome. For about four years he enjoyed the honour of being second in power and honour in the kingdom, and died September 28th, 1626, in his 84th year, making use of all the forms and ceremonies of the Church of his adoption.

The Romish Ecclesiastics gloried over their aged convert; the Huguenots looked on with sadness at the spectacle, and wondered if the baseness of treachery to his old friend Du Plessis at Saumur, and to the whole Huguenot body, when he came in arms against them, was not even in the mind of Lesdiguieres, too great a price to pay for the baton of Marshal, added to that other price, the abjuration of his faith. The office of Marshal died with him; the King would have no more.

Looking at the Huguenots, and contemplating them acting under the light they had, it seems to us that the opinions of Du Plessis and his companion about the construction of the Edict of Nantes, were correct, and that peaceable measures were the best calculated to preserve their privileges; and that the hard usage of Bearne was not a cause for war.

With the light we have about the designs of the court, we devoutly wish that the Huguenots could have been undivided in their political course; and either have waited on the throne peaceably for justice, not heeding the attempts to irritate and divide and seduce their ranks; or if that had been found impossi-



ble, to have joined as one body in the war, and contended with all their power for victory and the enjoyment of their rights, or have gone down together to a bloody and honourable grave.

## CHAPTER VII.

From the Peace of Montpellier, 1622, with the Strict Construction, to the taking of Rochelle, 1628, with the loss of Political Rights.

THE King enjoyed the greatest freedom and relaxation after the peace of Montpellier. Luinnes, his favourite and absolute master, was dead. The Queen mother, seeking to gain her ascendancy, was compliant and flattering. The success in capturing, or getting possession of the cautionary towns, had satisfied the young aspirants at court, with distinction and plunder. His Council embraced men of experience, all anxious to give an impulse to affairs of State. The King, satisfied with their general abilities and willingness to serve his wishes, was exceedingly guarded against the appearance of having a favourite, or even a confidential adviser. The court, the most fascinating in Europe, basked in the royal favour. Freedom of manners, checked in the latter part of the reign of Henry IV. by the jealousy of the Queen, now under the same Queen and her son, assumed the name and guise of virtue. Indulgence was more private, and regarded as the consequence or reward of reputed merit and success in arms or public life. The courtiers had each his favourite lady as his presiding angel, whose approbation he sought, whose counsels he followed, whose opinions he defended, and whose hon-

our was the apple of his eye. The Duke Bouillon alone found that presiding angel in his wife. The sternness of Richlieu, in demanding of the court the penances commanded by the National Church, was justified by the tendency to offend that underlay the whole proceedings of that gay court; and unhappily, in a religious point of view, these very penances that preserved a becoming exterior, fostered crime in the secrecy of retirement.

The King was satisfied that he had established by his arms, in connection with the dissensions among the Huguenots, the strict construction of the Edict of Nantes. He had been reared to suspect the Reformed; his mother and all his teachers had hated them. And the severe manner of his early training had made him hate his mother and his teachers, and the Ecclesiastics on whose ministry he attended when a boy; in fact, to hate all restraint. In the war just closed, he had become sensible of the numbers and strength of the Huguenots. He saw their industry, and its productiveness. He knew that to him, as their King, the King of France, they were loyal; that their complaints had been against his favourites now dead, to whom the grievous counsels had been attributed; and that they now looked to him, their King, for redress. He had re-affirmed the Edict of Nantes, and had refused to grant political assemblies; and had decided that the cautionary towns yielded by the Edict for eight years, were not now necessary. And now if Lesdiguières, or Bouillon, or Condé, or any prominent man at court, had plead the cause of the Huguenots, he would have been heard.

The principle of balance of power was reviving in the Court of France ; apparently dying with Henry IV., it had come to life again, and was soon to be the principle of action for France and for Europe. And a balance at court would have been grateful to the King ; something to check the ministers, something to balance the devotees of Spain and the Pope ; something to gratify that desire, shall it be called weakness ? to have a choice of action, or at least the appearance of it ; to be a protector of the Romish Church, and yet be able to show to Europe that, as King of France, he had the right, was under obligation, to cherish all his subjects. But Condé, that once affected to be the head of the Huguenots, was offended and sought, in compliance with the court, to obtain the wealth and indulgencies he desired ; Bouillon, more anxious to preserve his little kingdom of Sedan than advance the interests of the whole body of Huguenots, which he, unfortunately for himself and his little kingdom, looked upon as antagonistic, was seeking for place and influence at court, and did not see the one in his power in which he might stand against the whole influence of Rome ; Lesdiguières, beguiled by the honours of the Marshall of the kingdom, was preparing to abjure the Reformed faith ; and Du Plessis, the brave and noble, that won the admiration of Henry IV. for his stern rebuke of wrong-doing even in his Majesty, Du Plessis was dead. There was no man at court like Coligny and Du Plessis, whose principles of statesmanship will last forever, to come forward and relieve the King and save the Huguenots.

The National Synod, now the only visible bond of union, and means of access to the King, held its Twenty-Fourth meeting at Charenton, commencing September 1st, 1623. Monsieur Durant presided.

The King's Edict granting permission for the meeting of Synod, was dated April 17th, and directs the Lord Augustus Galland, member of the Reformed Church, a Councillor of State, and member of the Privy Council, and Attorney General of Navarre, to attend as his special commissioner "to carefully take heed that nothing be treated or debated in it contrary to our service or prejudicial to the public peace." Commissioners were also appointed to attend the Provincial Synods, Colloquies, and Consistories, to prevent any matters other than religious from receiving attention. Some of the deputies to this Synod were late in attendance; and were excused for their tardiness, because the commissioners appointed to attend the Provincial Synods had delayed their appearance and kept back the Synods. The list of lay delegates had many titles of honour. Paris sent a Councillor and Secretary to the King; Alez, a doctor of the civil law; Dolphiny, a Captain and Constable of the Castle of Lamure, and an advocate in the Parliament of Greenable; Languedoc, the King's attorney and a doctor of civil law; Lower Languedoc, two doctors of the civil law; Lower Guienne, an advocate in the Parliament of Bordeaux; Orleans and Berry, a Councillor to the King, and his Judge in the Sessions of Blois. The name of Lord is appended to many others.

A Committee of Conference, two pastors and two

elders waited on the King to profess the loyalty of the Synod ; and to ask that the imputation on the Synods, Colloquies, and Consistories, that they had passed their due bounds, might be removed, by withdrawing the commissioners sent by the King for inspection. The King received them kindly, and promised to continue their privileges, but made no promise to withdraw the commissioners.

By his Lord Chancellor, the King objected to the employment of foreign ministers as pastors of the churches in France. The Committee replied that foreigners in great numbers were employed in the National Church. The Chancellor objected to the oath to maintain the decrees of the Synod of Dort, imposed by the Synod of Alez, “that though his Majesty giveth protection to the religion, yet you must not mistake him, he intends it not for a novel and exotic faith.” The Committee replied, that the decision at Dort did “most harmoniously agree with the Confession of Faith in the churches of this kingdom, and that there was nothing novel in it except its formality and application as a fence and boundary to keep out diverse errors.”

After consultation with his Majesty, the Chancellor said : “His Majesty would not remove the foreign pastors from their flocks in this kingdom, who are now in office, and at present actually employed.” The King repeated : “I will not that one of them that is now in the ministry of their churches be turned out.”

The Chancellor said that on the other subject, “his Majesty leaves you wholly at liberty to judge of your

doctrine ; but only gives you to understand, that no man shall be obliged to pin his faith upon another's sleeve or swear upon the faith of a stranger."

The Synod, taking into consideration the oath proposed at Alez respecting the Synod of Dort, resolved, "the present Synod, considering that the city of Dort is a dependence and member of a foreign commonwealth, it doth ordain that the reference had in the said oath, unto that city, shall be taken away, nor shall it be for the future administered in the churches and universities of this kingdom: And the oath shall be hereafter taken in that form as is expressed in the close of the canons decreed in this present Synod, and which, by its special order, were printed and inserted into these present acts."

These canons, to take the place of the articles of Dort, were drawn up in four chapters, comprising about twenty-five loosely printed octavo pages: Chapter 1st, of Predestination, Election, and Reprobation, contained eighteen canons or propositions of truth to be believed; and nine canons of error to be rejected. Chapter 2d, of the Death of Jesus Christ, and Man's Redemption by it, contained nine canons of truth to be received, and seven of errors rejected. Chapter 3d, of the Corruption of Man, his Conversion unto God, and the manner how, contained seventeen canons of truths to be believed, and nine of errors to be rejected. Chapter 4th, concerning the Perseverance of the Saints, contained fifteen canons of truth to be believed, and nine of errors to be rejected.

This compend of doctrine is more full, precise and clear, than that of Dort, leaving no doubt upon the

reader's mind of the intention of Synod, or the meaning of the oath of subscription. It has few equals in the great number of formulas drawn up for consideration, or offered as standards of faith, since the commencement of the Reformation. It may be called an epitome of the doctrines of the Reformed French Church; and, as a *vade mecum*, would comfort and confirm believers, building them up in the faith.

His Majesty made known by his commissioner that Mr. Cameron, proposed by the Synod of Anjou for Professor of Divinity at Saumur, and Mr. Primrose, who had with Mr. Cameron been pastor at Bordeaux, "should not be preferred neither of them to any publick office of pastors in the churches, or professors in the universities."

The Synod sent a deputation to entreat his Majesty to relax the rigour of his determination about those men, and also about Du Maulin, pastor in Paris, who had fled to escape arrest.

The Lord Chancellor replied: "For divers reasons, which, if they were known unto you, would very well satisfy you, his Majesty cannot permit the Ministers Du Maulin, Primrose, and Cameron, to live in his kingdom; and that since from his Majesty's mouth and writing you understand his will, it is his pleasure that you make no replies. However, because of your most humble petition, his Majesty will permit those ministers to reside within his dominions, but on this condition, that they shall not be employed either in the pastoral or professor's office. But, in time, matters may be better ordered for their contentment."

Mr. Cameron was a Scotchman, and served as pas-



tor in Bordeaux. His offence was opposition to the Parliament of Bordeaux, seven years previous to this time. He remained in France. The Synod, in consideration of his condition, ordered a thousand livres to be paid him from the money at their disposal. The opposition of the King subsided, and he became Professor of Divinity at Montauban; and there died in 1625, about 45 years of age.

Mr. Primrose was also a Scotchman, and had been pastor at Bordeaux. The King never relaxed in his opposition to him, and he returned to England and became pastor of the French Church in London. The Jesuits were the cause of his difficulties with the King. In the year 1619, on Whitsuntide, a Jesuit, preaching before the King, Queen, and Court of France, in the Castle of Amboise, assured his audience "that it was never the doctrine of the Romish Church, and never believed by those good fathers, that subjects might lawfully rebel against their sovereign; yea, it doth anathematize all those who teach and preach that the sacred persons of princes may be lawfully made away with and murdered; yea, that the whole Society of the Jesuits doth condemn, detest, and as much as in them lieth, doth anathematize all advisers, abettors, and aiders of rebels against the King, upon any pretext whatever."

His Majesty and the whole audience were greatly pleased with the declaration, and left the services rejoicing. His Majesty declared publicly his approbation of the Jesuits, and that the preacher had, in the name of the Society, plainly and fully condemned the book of Mariana.

Mr. Primrose heard the sermon, and was indignant at the imposition practiced on the King, and entreated Monsieur Modine, then a stranger, to ask Father Arnaux, the preacher, “whether James Clement, that stabbed in the bowels, with a poisoned knife, Henry III., an excommunicated King, had killed his King? and suppose the Pope should excommunicate his Majesty now reigning, and declare his throne and kingdom vacant, whether he would own Louis XIII. for his King? and if, at any time, an assassin as John Chautel, Peter Barriere, or Francis Ravillac, all disciples of the Jesuits, should attempt upon his Majesty’s life, he would accuse and anathematize him as guilty of treason in the last and highest degree, for daring to lift up his bloody hands against the sacred person of the King?”

The Jesuit could not reply to the enquiry of Mr. Primrose; and by his manner convinced the bystanders that an imposition had been attempted.

Father Arnaux took his revenge by persuading the Parliament of Bordeaux to pass a decree, “that no stranger, not born in the kingdom, should be a minister in France.”

Du Maulin was a Frenchman, and pastor in Paris. He carried on a controversy with Richlieu in defence of Protestantism, and pressed him hard. In a letter to James I. of England, he wrote to his Majesty, “that not only the eyes of all the Reformed in France are upon you for help in their exigency and distress, but the eyes of all the other Protestant and Reformed Churches of Europe; that in fact, *England is the bulwark of the Reformation.*”

This letter went into the hands of the Duke of Buckingham; and was by him sent to the French King. Some friends at court gave Du Maulin information that a warrant was issued for his arrest. He fled from the King's dominions. He was called to be pastor of the church and professor in the university at Sedan, the principality the Duke De Bouillon held independent of the King of France. Here he died in 1650, in the 90th year of his age.

His personal worth and his writings gave great *eclat* to the University of Sedan. His printed productions were in number seventy-five; in quarto, octavo, duodecimo, sixteens, and twenty-fours. An English writer says of him: "He hath my heart, when I read his consolations to his brethren of the Church of France; as also in treating of the Love of God. I would willingly learn French only to understand him."

To preserve union among the churches, the Synod called the attention of the Consistories and Colloquies and Provincial Synods to the canon forbidding the printing of any manuscripts till they had been properly examined by those appointed for the purpose by the Provincial Synods.

It also directed "all pastors, be it in their writings or in their sermons, are to keep themselves within the bounds of Christian simplicity, and to prune off, from all their discourses and exhortations, those needless excrescencies of curious questions, and to oppose such persons as shall attempt to subvert the truth delivered to us by our teachers of blessed memory, whose ministry the Lord so owned in the great work of Reformation; and that they would so order all their doc-

trines and sermons that they may have a direct tendency to promote the peace of the churches and the edification and conscience of the auditors."

Letters from the authorities of the University of Leyden were read, asking that Rivet might be continued their professor for life; leave was granted him to remain till the next National Synod. He continued to act as professor at Leyden till his death in 1651. His works are in three volumes folio.

At this time there were three universities in operation, (besides the one in Sedan claimed by Bouillon,) Saumur, Montauban, and Nismes. A proposition to reduce them to two was rejected, on account of the necessities of the churches. "The professor's place in Greek" was suppressed. The office of Principal in the universities was conferred on one of the professors. A professor in Hebrew was commended to a church, and the professor of Greek to take his place. No wages to be given by universities to a printer.

These orders show the necessities of the Synod while the payment of their annual gratuity was delayed, in part, or wholly, or detained, or offered in unavailable funds.

As Greek was taught in colleges, the pressure of the irregularity of the yearly gratuity caused the dismissal of the professor of Greek from the universities, while the Hebrew, the language of the Old Testament, not being taught in colleges, was retained.

The Synod of Charenton closed its sessions on the 1st of October, 1623, according to custom, with the administration of the Lord's supper. Common bread was used, according to the ancient habit of the French

Church. The church in Geneva came to use common bread in accordance with their brethren in France. Christ used the bread common at the feast at the time He instituted the supper. The Romish Church use the wafer. Some Protestant churches use unleavened bread. The Reformed in France chose common bread for the sacred service of their communion.

In remarking on this Synod, Mr. Quick, in his Synodicon, says, the presiding officer, Monsieur Durant, had been minister to the Landgrave of Hesse; and afterwards to the Duchess of Barr, sister of Henry IV.; and then pastor in Paris, was zealous and eloquent, like lightning and thunder in the pulpit; was never well after this Synod, and died 1626.

De Launey, the scribe, was a learned gentleman of great reputation in the churches; wrote Commentaries on all the Epistles of Paul, in French, 2 volumes octavo; and had begun on the Prophecies of Daniel and Apocalypse of John, reputed a Millennarian of the members. Adrian Chamier, son of the great Chamier, was the third from his grandfather that ministered in Dolphiny; that this grandfather had five grandsons in the ministry; and that the grandfather of this grandfather preached when above one hundred years old; and that the ministry was in the family for more than four hundred years, through six generations. -

William Rivet, brother of the professor, was a man of singular prudence; he would not be persuaded to remove from his church at Taillebourg; great lamentation was made for his death. He wrote on justifi-

cation, invocation of saints, authority of Scripture, and *Des Droits De Dieu*.

Galland, the first commissioner of the King to the Synod, was a great lawyer and antiquary; he wrote memoirs of the history of Navarre and Flanders in one volume.

The Duke De Bouillon, one of the leaders of the Strict Construction party, died this year, and he was spared the sight of the ruin brought by his principles.

Cardinal Richlieu came into power in the Court of Louis XIII. in the spring of 1624; and is remembered as the man who gave form and consistency to the desires and designs of those who sought the ruin of the Reformed as a church, and the Huguenots as a party. The party he saw fall; the church he could only entangle and oppress, while he strove to involve it in contentions with the King that might cause its overthrow, and was offering lures to the nobility to leave its communion for the Church of Rome.

The King felt the need of his abilities, and yet trembled at the prospect of the influence he might wield over himself and the court and kingdom. He had enjoyed the freedom from "the control approaching tyranny, of the favourite Luinnes, whom he had loved in his youth. He could not love Richlieu. He had witnessed the ability with which the Cardinal had managed the affairs of the Queen mother, while, as Bishop of Lucon, he controlled her Councils. He had noticed the address of his movements between the Queen regent and his favourite minister Luinnes. He had seen, too, how the Cardinal had contrived to instill into the mind of that favourite, in part, the

plans to be pursued for the curbing the power of the Huguenots, by beginning with Bearne and reducing it from an independent kingdom to be a province of France, and afford opportunity of declaring that the national religion of France was the religion of Bearne, as the province must follow the kingdom. The King knew he would find the Cardinal every day advantageous to himself amidst the pleasures of his indulgent court, and troubled by the cabals and stratagems of the nobles and heedless youth that flocked around him.

The Queen mother favoured the Cardinal, whose hat she had obtained from the Pope, because she believed him faithful to the Romish Church and friendly to herself. The King prized and dreaded him, as he remembered how he persuaded, and beguiled, and deceived his mother; he looked, with apprehension, upon the man who could be the most efficient servant, and might be most uncompromising in his supremacy, and most ready to court some favour from other sources than the King of France.

Wearied with the cares of government that were encroaching on his freedom and enjoyments, he determined at last, after great hesitation, to throw the weight of government upon Richlieu. He made him Privy Councillor

The rise of this man had been rapid. Introduced to the Queen regent by her favourite Galligai, he attached himself to her fortunes. He wrote various tracts against the Protestants; which were greatly praised, but short lived. He was encountered by Du Maulin of Paris in reply; and could never forget nor

forgive the Reformed pastor for the vigour of his pen.

The Queen regent procured for him the position of Bishop of Lucon, in 1601, when in his 21st year.

On his birthday, September 5th, sixteen years afterwards, he was promoted to the position of Cardinal, being then thirty-seven years of age. In about a year and one-half afterwards, April 9th, 1624, he received from the King the appointment of Councillor of State. This was the summit of his greatness; but one other position on earth remained of greater honour in his estimation, and that was the Chair of St. Peter at Rome. His great, his constant struggle, was, not so much to ascend to the supremacy of the Romish Church, as to hold his position and escape the downfall that was always awaiting his steps. He addressed himself to his work as a man that knew his position and was resolved on success. Great designs call for great acts and great principles. The principles blessed at Rome, and the acts lauded there, could not make him beloved in France; they were too weak to endure the pressure and trial of ages; they did not hand him down to posterity as a great Christian, an eminent patriot, or a pure and exalted statesman. Multitudes he trampled in the dust are gathered from the records of the past jewels of memory set for the crown of the Lamb at the day of his coming more precious than the Prime Minister.

Richlieu began immediately to accomplish designs familiar to his desires as Bishop contending with Pastor Du Maulin, and as Cardinal, revolving the condition of his church, and now as Councillor of State, burning in his heart. First in his desire, and not



least in his passion, was the destruction of the Reformed French Church. Next, as a thing gratifying to himself, and agreeable to the King, was the breaking of the power of the nobles of France, whether Protestant or Romish, who could shake the throne of a weak or pleasure-loving King. By the first, he would secure unity of faith in France, and be himself head of the Gallican Church, if never Pope at Rome; by the second, the government of France would be an unit, as complete as that of Spain; the nobles at the feet of the King; and he himself before the world next to the King in government; in reality the master of his King, whose conscience he governed.

To amuse the nation, bewilder the Huguenots, and delude the nobles, he entered at once into the politics of Europe to limit the house of Austria in its various positions in Germany, Italy and Spain, to bring about the balance of power in Europe, all despotic, but all balanced; and if not Pope, he would bring all Europe to Popery.

The struggles with the nobles of France, and the branches of the house of Austria, have in their records splendid actions emanating from the will of an ambitious, proud, resolute, persevering man, who finally died detested by the nobles he courted, and promoted and honoured in the sight of Europe, and yet subdued to vassalage, and hated by the King he governed, and made absolute. These will fill pages in the history of European courts and wars.

The contests with the Huguenots in arms, and with the Reformed Church, by arts and dissimulations and tyrannic acts, belong to the history of martyrs for the

rights of men, and the pure worship of Almighty God.

It was no difficult thing for Richlieu to aggravate the Huguenots to expressions of discontent, to complaints, and to a spirit of determined resistance; and unhappily, notwithstanding their sufferings from divided Councils in the contests about the construction of the Edict of Nantes, he found it no difficult thing to provoke them to act without that harmony of counsel which their condition demanded for safety. The prospect of promotion, and the gains to come from war with the Huguenots, easily won the youth of the court to talk of battles and sieges and campaigns as appropriate work of nobles and gentlemen.

A royal citadel was erected in Montpellier to overawe the community, contrary to the rights and privileges of the city, evidently designed to put the rebellious and victorious people in the power of the court, contrary to the late treaty.

Fort Louis, which had been built during the late war to annoy Rochelle, instead of being torn down according to the provisions of the late treaty, was repaired and strengthened, and put in condition to menace the city.

Petty grievances were abundant, from sources under the control of the Cardinal, of which, however, he could plead ignorance, and without very plain proof offered him, could denounce as fabrications. It was the interest of many to oblige the Cardinal without implicating him in the acts. Deprived of the counsel and authority of their political assembly which the King would not call, and not willing to wait the

process of negotiation to unite the whole body of Huguenots in a well-adjusted plan of action, the inhabitants of Rochelle prepared for war, trusting to their strong fortifications and maritime advantages.

The Duke of Rohan was called to the command of the forces on land, and the naval interests were committed to the Duke Saubize. The royal forces, in number about five thousand, were commanded by Marshall De Themines.

Marches, and skirmishes and battles, and plunderings and wounds, and whatever else make up war, were begun; and were confined to Languedoc and the adjoining districts. The Huguenots of the middle and northern provinces were undisturbed. Richlieu would make a distinction between those who rebelled and those who remained quiet. The army moved among the southern provinces carrying desolation and spreading terror along the line of its march among the unwallled villages.

The record of the wrongs and sufferings is before the Lord of all, and waits the decision of the great day which shall make known who were the aggressors and who the sufferers, and shall proclaim their reward.

One event peculiar in its circumstances exhibits the bravery of the Huguenots. The royal army was stopped in its progress by seven armed peasants of Foix barricaded in a mud hovel, by name Chaurbonnet, near Cariot. For two whole days these peasants defended themselves, killing forty of the enemy. The artillery of the royalists were ordered forward for an attack. The powder of the peasants was exhausted. One of

the party reconnoitering discovered a point at which the hostile forces could be broken through. On his return to the cabin, he was mistaken for an advancing foe, fired upon and wounded in his thigh, by the sentinel. Disabled by this wound from accompanying them, he urged the other six to escape by the way he believed to be passable. The sentinel, his brother, refused to leave the brother whose wound he had himself inflicted. Another kinsman present, also refused, resolved to share the fate of his relatives. Under shelter of the night, four of the seven escaped. The other three awaited the dawn. The royal army pressed on, too ferocious to be brave. The brother would not leave the wounded brother; and the relative would not leave the two brothers; and the three would not permit the other four to meet the death impending from an exasperated foe that would strive to wipe out their disgrace and loss by blood. The four, after prodigies of valour, escaped with their lives; the three fell, sword in hand, adding more victims to the forty already slain. Their names have not been preserved. They are remembered as *the seven peasants of Foix*.

Another event occurred upon the water of equal spirit. Captain Durant, of the squadron of Saubize, finding his vessel, the *La Vierge*, shut up between the isle of Rhe and the mainland; and seeing four of the royal squadron bearing down upon his ship, the largest in the channel; and waiting till all the men but four had escaped to land, jumped with a lighted match into the powder magazine, destroying at once his own ship and those of the enemy, with seven hundred and forty

of their men. Two of his own men perished with him, and two escaped unhurt. A gentleman of Poitou, lying wounded on deck, persuaded his son, a few moments before the magazine was set on fire, to swim ashore ; he himself was thrown by the explosion, unhurt, into one of the boats of the enemy.

Richlieu believed it important to the success of his designs against the house of Austria to maintain peace with England. While the royal forces were ravaging Languedoc and distressing Rochelle, he negotiated a peace with King James and a marriage between the Prince of Wales, Charles I., and Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII. To do this, he broke off the match agreed upon between that young Prince and the Infanta of Spain. Charles had visited her in her father's palace in Madrid ; and the nuptials were in preparation. The reason assigned for the breach of faith with the Infanta was that Charles, on his way to Madrid, had seen the French Princess and could not recover himself from the toils thrown around him.

A league was formed of England, France, Venice, Savoy, and the States of Holland, against the King of Spain, who, stung by the insult offered his daughter, was not unwilling to meet his foe. The English, ashamed of their treatment of Rochelle, where the commander of their fleet was disgraced, the sailors dishonoured, and the inhabitants injured, insisted that war should cease between the King of France and his subjects. Richlieu checked his eager desire for the destruction of the Huguenots by piecemeal, and called back the King from his rash declaration :  
“All else who have taken up arms against me may

expect clemency; for the Rachellois it is quite another matter."

Political reasons, that it was best that all parts of the kingdom should be at peace before undertaking a foreign war, prevailed; and a treaty of peace was signed February 6, 1626, stipulating that the Romish worship should be tolerated in Rochelle, and that Fort Louis should remain unharmed. The Earl of Holland and Sir Dudley Carlton, the English ambassadors, affixed their signatures and seals to an instrument declaring that their master, James I., guaranteed the treaty, and had received a promise from the King of France that Fort Louis should be thrown down at a time convenient.

Richlieu, to gain the English, consented to the treaty. Before it was signed, he left the room, that he might not seem to have a part in such delusive transactions. He knew the convenient time would never come; and that the doom of Rochelle was sealed. But he did not know what would have rejoiced him to hear, that the meshes woven around Prince Charles by his diplomatic skill would be more afflictive to the Prince and to all England than any Spanish alliance; nor did he suspect, what he would have trembled to hear, that in the end the young Prince's blood would stain a scaffold and Protestantism cover England.

The design of Richlieu, approved by the King, to dispense with political assemblies hitherto granted the Huguenots, is revealed in the progress of the *twenty-fifth* annual meeting of the National Synod, held at Castres, in Albigeois, commencing Sept. 16th, 1626.

His Majesty's commissioner presented a letter from the King, of July 24th, requiring that debates be held only on matters of discipline of religion; that the commissioner "assist in person in all your consultations;" promising protection as long as the body was loyal; "that no minister shall depart the kingdom without his royal license first obtained, to live in a foreign land; nor shall these National Councils lend any of their ministers to foreign Princes or Republics, either for a determinate time or during life, but shall refer the same to his Majesty," for his consideration and decision. The commissioner also required information to be given of all ministers who had joined the Spanish faction; the Synod, re-affirming its allegiance, declare that the churches "have never the least intimation or knowledge that any of their members professing the Reformed religion have tampered in any plots or treasons with the Spaniards or other enemies of the crown."

The Synod went on to express their abhorrence of the doctrine and practice of those "who having divers times attempted to assassinate the sacred persons of Kings, still carry on correspondence with foreign nations," thus directing the attention of the King to many in his kingdom, and some around his person, from whom more danger was to be apprehended than from the Huguenots.

The King, by his commissioner, exhorted "his subjects of the Reformed religion to live in greater equanimity and moderation with his other subjects, though differing with them in religion."

The Synod in reply showed how hard this require-

ment was, in some places, where their fellow-citizens “are molested in their persons, and disturbed in the exercise of their religion, deprived of their temples, yea, and see them demolished before their faces, ever since the *peace*, or else given away from them for dwelling-houses unto the Romish priests and ecclesiastics; and that they be dispossessed of their burying places, and the dead bodies of very many persons be digged up most ignominiously; that our ministers have been barbarously beaten, bruised, wounded, and driven away from their churches.”

The Synod further declares, in answer to the King by his commissioner, “that the churches within the kingdom have ever been united in the profession of one and the same faith, and acts of love and charity, where members have none other aim or end than with one heart to serve God and the King in peaceable lives and liberty of conscience; so as for the churches of other nations, they never had or will have any intelligence, alliance, or correspondency with them than what shall be approved by God and his Majesty, desiring always to live in peace, under the wings of his protection.”

The King sent an Edict requiring the Synod to proceed to the nomination of six persons, out of whom he might choose two to reside as General Deputies at court, the three years for which the late deputies were chosen having expired.

The Synod objected that this was a political matter, hitherto done in the General Political Assembly held once in three years by his Majesty's permission, to state grievances, choose General Deputies, give them



instruction, hear their report at the close of their duties ; and that Provincial Assemblies had preceded the General Assembly, in order to facilitate the cause of justice and the public welfare.

A deputation was sent to the King on this matter. He refused to grant permission for the meeting of political assemblies ; directed the Synod to nominate deputies for three years ; declared that upon their refusal he should appoint deputies without their nomination ; and declared that this act of choice should not be a precedent for the future ; that it might be that he would permit political assemblies to be held hereafter.

After a conference of a committee of twelve with the commissioner, the Synod proceeded to the nomination of six persons, from whom the King should choose two.

Monsieur La Houcher was directed to collect the memoirs sent from the churches stating the grievances under which they labour in being deprived of the rights of conscience ; and all others signed by two pastors or elders ; and embodying them all in a bill, to lay them at his Majesty's feet, asking the royal protection. Complaints of grievances, instead of going up by political assemblies, which were now forbidden, came up to the National Synod, from the suffering people, either as memorials from churches or petitions from pastors and elders. The Synod, after remonstrance with the King, became, of necessity, the channel of access to the King.

The Synod issued a strong testimony against some lascivious fashions that had gone out from court into

the provinces: it enjoined all “the faithful to suppress and stifle those bitter animosities which the unhappiness of our late civil wars may have enkindled in them. Pastors, heads of families, and members of churches, were exhorted to pray for blessings on the King, “to beg of God, that he would be graciously pleased to bless his Majesty with children of his own body; that the sceptre may be strengthened in his hand, his house established from generation to generation; and that he may, after a long and happy life, be honoured in succeeding ages with the glorious title of *Father of Kings*.”

Richer churches were exhorted to erect public libraries for the benefit of their pastors. Collections having been made by his Majesty's permission for the cities of Montauban, Rochelle and Castres, the Synod decided that one quarter should be given to Castres. Counsel and directions were given to the Church of La Mate, to save their place of worship from the designs and efforts of the Cardinal of Sourdis, and the Bishop of Moillszais. “Lord and Lady Dangeau complaining that the Synod of the Isle of France had forbidden the particular recommending of them to God in the public prayers made by the Church of Chartres meeting at the bridge of Tranchefetus, although they had formerly been made for the Lord and Lady of that place: the Synod, after hearing the reasons for the omission, ordered that “the pastor of Chartres shall mention in his prayers, and pray particularly by name, for the said Lord and Lady, according to the intention of the Synods of that province.”

The publication in folio of the writings of Monsieur Doneau, a very famous minister and professor of divinity in the kingdom of Bearne, was requested, the Synod offering to meet the expense.

A request was sent to the Church and University of Sedan for the manuscripts of Monsieur Du Tilloy, to be published under the care of the Synod of the Isle of France.

The learned works of the great Chamier, so often asked for by the Synod, were presented by his son, dedicated to the National Synod; and three hundred livres were given to the editor in hand, and a contingent sum before next Synod.

Seven hundred livres were given to the children of Mr. Cameron, professor at Montauban, deceased; and other steps were taken for their comfort.

Many churches having been scattered by the late wars, and many ministers driven away, the estimation of the number of churches at this time gives 630, and pastors 650.

Letters from Geneva commend the Reformed for their pure faith, and praiseworthy efforts to maintain it; the answer abounds in Christian sentiments expressed in a Christian spirit.

The professors of the Greek language, suppressed by the Synod of Charenton, were restored with this condition that the professors should explain the most elegant treatises of the fathers in their instruction, instead of the heathen classics.

Cardinal Richlieu, fixing the attention of Europe on his political plans for a balance of power, knew well how to disturb and distract the Huguenots of the

Southern provinces. He appeared not to think of them. The hand that moved their perplexing trials of patience and obedience to law was unseen; the provocations to resent were continual; to resist was to be pronounced an enemy; to yield, was to receive further aggression.

The complaints poured into the Synod, and by them in dignified tenderness laid before the King, tell how human nature was aggrieved. It is evident that wasting in peace or resistance by arms was the only alternative of the Huguenots. Bentevoglio, Cardinal Legate of the Pope, in letters from the French court a little before this time, thus speaks of the Reformed. Having pretty fairly stated their doctrines, by pronouncing them Calvinistic, without defining the meaning of that word, overrating their number of ministers and underrating their aggregate and relative numbers in comparison with the rest of France, he goes on to say: "They have selected Rochelle, the imagined future Carthage of France, in which they are hoping to found, or rather are tending the foundations of their nascent republic. That city is virtually their present asylum, in which they daily imagine a thousand evil practices against the King and the Church without exposure to chastisement."

He then speaks of the cautionary towns, that were garrisoned by Huguenot soldiers and commanders at an expense to the King of more than a million of francs annually; and says of Rochelle, it "is not a cautionary town; but the ancient immunities are so extensive that it may be esteemed almost an independent government. It scarcely acknowledges the royal

authority; it has always been connected with the Huguenots; and so strongly has it been fortified by nature and by art that its reduction would be a work of lingering and difficult accomplishment."

Having spoken of Bouillon as "intriguing and faithless," and Lesdiguières as "generous and sincere," he goes on to say: "The chief hope of the extinction of the sect is founded on their internal dissensions. Lesdiguières is said to be already decrepid; and Bouillon aged and infirm; and the other leaders are distracted with mutual jealousy."

The ruin of Rochelle was to be achieved, if possible. The city knew this fact well. Her only choice was when and how to fight. Saubize went to England to seek for help. He pressed Charles I., lately come to the crown, to declare himself the protector of the Huguenots, because his father had guaranteed the late treaty of Rochelle, and held under the signature of his ambassadors the promise of Louis XIII. to tare down the Fort Louis, the grief of Rochelle; and that promise had not been fulfilled, and that treaty had been wantonly violated in numberless cases; many of which had been carefully enumerated in a State paper. The English nation were in favour of vigorous action in favour of the Reformed. The politics and heart of their King inclined different ways. He wished France no success; he desired no good for the Reformed. In June 1627, the Duke of Buckingham, with land and naval forces, sailed for Rochelle. Unfortunately, neither Saubize or Buckingham had made arrangements with the inhabitants to act in concert. Rochelle had always been prompt in her own defence. In the pre-

sent case, circumstances were not favourable to war-like movements ; the designs of the English were not understood ; their proceedings before the late treaty were not forgotten, nor had they been explained ; the harvests were not gathered, and the labourers could not be called to arms ; the King's forces were near and on the watch ; the royal forts were ready for action, though unfinished ; and there was a party in the city, gathered by the arts of Richlieu, in favour of the King. Saubize at length persuaded the citizens to receive Buckingham and try the event of war with his assistance. The Duke involved himself in ruinous sieges of different outposts, and shortly after the city had declared for him, made a disastrous retreat ; re-embarking his forces, with great loss of men, he returned home ; “ discredited both as an Admiral and as a General, and bearing no praise with him but the vulgar one of courage and personal bravery.”

Rochelle, thus entrapped and abandoned, stood bravely for its defence. In the early part of winter, the Cardinal made preparations to crush the city at a blow. The Dukes Rohan and Saubize were declared traitors. The Parliament of Thoulouse, assuming an unwarranted authority over a peer of France, passed on the Duke of Rohan a sentence of degradation, and to be torn by four horses ; and offered fifty thousand crowns for his head, with the promise of nobility to any that would assassinate him. A wall of circumvallation to the extent of nine miles was drawn around the city. The Cardinal took part in the siege, in the presence of the King ; and assumed the command of a brigade. Rochelle could not be taken while her

port was open and access to the sea was free. Professed engineers had attempted to obstruct the entrance to the port; and the tides and tempests swept away every barricade their ingenuity erected. Fatigued with a seven months' campaign, the King, on the 4th of February, 1628, nominated Richlieu his Lieutenant General, and commanding all the Marshals to yield implicit obedience as to himself, retired to the enjoyments of his court and capital. The Cardinal planned a mole to cross the entrance of the harbour beyond the reach of the cannon of the besieged, stretching seven hundred and fifty toises, from bank to bank, with a single opening in the middle, the arms of which overlapped. Still further to protect the passage, jetties and stockades were interlaced with chains. This mole was made of piles filled with huge stones, with sixty hulks of vessels loaded with masonry to answer for buttresses; its width of bottom twelve toises, tapering to the top, and in height far above high-water mark; the top, four toises in width, was a smooth platform on which the sentinels passed to and fro. The Cardinal rejoiced in his work. The tides and storms of the vernal equinox came on before the work was done. To the great joy of the besieged, the waters forced a passage, and their deliverance seemed near. In a few days, to their great dismay, the active Cardinal had repaired the damages. The artillery was placed along the mole; batteries were erected on the abutments; the fortifications were completed on the banks of the harbour; and the royal fleet was moored at its entrance. Rochelle was now completely invested by land and by sea.

On the 11th of May an English fleet of ninety vessels, under the Earl of Denbigh, appeared off the harbour. Seven days of foul weather prevented all naval operations. On the eighth, the fleet sailed away after discharging one broadside. The Admiral pretended the ships required greater depth of water than the harbour afforded. A single sloop, under cover of night, landed her provisions. The King returned to camp in time to witness the arrival and departure of the English fleet; and rejoiced over the bitter disappointment of the besieged and the disgrace of the English.

Another fleet was prepared at Portsmouth to wipe off the disgrace of the English arms at Rochelle. The assassination of the Duke of Buckingham, under whom it was to have sailed in August, frustrated the expedition.

Rochelle was left to its own resources. The siege was pressed by the Cardinal. Famine threatened the city; but the walls were unbroken, and the courage of the defenders firm.

Pierre Merault, son of the chief of the artillery of the garrison, a youth of twenty years of age, was a partaker of the sufferings of the siege, and preserved some memoranda of events as they passed. From the end of June "the famine began to be horrible." The pangs of hunger compelled the besieged to all imaginable resorts to allay its cravings. The flesh of the vilest animals was a dainty. Disease followed in the steps of famine. As many as two hundred, and even three hundred, would die in a day. A faction,



under the influence of Richlieu, continually clamoured for surrender.

In the absence of experienced military leaders, the mayor, Guitou, a man of firmness, decision, and vigour, commanded the besieged. He repulsed all the approaches of the royal army, and put down all the efforts of the faction, and encouraged the city to hope on. One night, in order to excite the people to insurrection and surrender, the faction, under pretence of saving the provisions still left in the city, assembled a crowd of women and children and old men, and drove them from the city walls towards the enemy. The royalists attacked with violence this starving band approaching them at the dawn of day. The King, forgetful of his father's example at Paris, drove them back to the city. The soldiers violated the women, robbed the company of their clothes, and left them to feed on grass and roots under the walls till re-admitted to the city.

Two Englishmen, involved in the siege, wasting with famine and disease, and sensible that their death was approaching, ordered their coffins to be brought at a given hour. The undertaker carried the coffins at the appointed time, and was astonished to find one already dead and the other in his last agonies.

The widow of a merchant named Prosnî, with four children, distributed her stores liberally among her less fortunate neighbours, while anything remained. To a rich sister-in-law, reproaching her want of foresight, she replied: "The Lord will provide us food." Her stores were at length exhausted. Spurned with taunts from the door of her relative, she went home

to die with her children. Her little ones met her at the door with cries of joy. A stranger, whose name was never revealed, had, while she was absent, deposited in her house a sack of flour. The single bushel it contained preserved their lives till the siege was closed.

A third English fleet, of more than one hundred sail, appeared in two divisions off the Isle of Rhe, on the 18th of September. The Cardinal placed forty-five thousand men for the defence of the mole. Forty pieces of cannon on one shore and twenty-five on the other flanked the approaches. The narrow passage of one hundred and fifty feet, in the centre, was guarded by a flotilla of countless vessels. The commander of the English fleet, the Earl of Lindsey, employed himself in reconnoissance and a distant cannonade. The fireships sent to destroy the French fleet were guided unskilfully, and exploded without damaging the enemy. On the 22d of October, Saubize endeavoured to force an entrance, himself leading the van. Failing, he renewed the effort, and being ill-supported by the rest of the fleet, he abandoned the attempt. The English Admiral lay at anchor out of the range of the Cardinal's guns. Three vessels prepared as floating mines, with 1200 pounds of powder, a great number of immense stones, and vast quantities of brick, were left unemployed, as none could be found willing to encounter the danger of attaching them to the mole.

The Rochellois were frustrated in their last hopes. The promised aid from England had been of no service. Whether this disappointment was owing to the

commands of the King in his private instructions, the incapacity of the commanders of the fleet, or the real difficulties of the position, cannot be positively asserted. Some things are undoubted. It is well known that the King of England was not favourable to the Reformed Church. It is known that his wife, the sister of the French King, was the means of multiplied efforts to give the Romish Church a position in England. Buckingham's gallantries in the French court are as well known as the public welfare requires. The English fleets sent by the sympathy of the English nation to aid the besieged, tantalized them and left them to their fate. Charles I. seemed to aid the city of Rochelle, and the untowardness of winds and waves were expected to cover the deception.

Famine prevailed in the city; and disease followed, and, with the accidents of war, reduced the inhabitants in ten months from fifteen thousand to less than five, swallowing them up at the rate of a thousand a month, or two hundred and fifty a week, or some thirty-three a day; two-thirds of the population had been buried in ten months, and as the siege began in the winter, the summer and vernal months witnessed the havoc of life at an increased ratio. The streets had tenantless houses and houses occupied by ghastly corpses in greater number than habitations of living men. The fortifications were unbroken; but the bodies of the defenders were weakened by famine. The faction of Richlieu clamoured for surrender. The stout heart of Guitou gave up; he beat a parley; alas a little too soon.

The Cardinal had tasked his ingenuity and resources

and strategy; and was wearied. Glad of the parley, he resolved to attempt, by duplicity, what his courage and perseverance had not accomplished. He proposed terms, the very mildness of which should have excited in the besieged the strongest suspicion, of either his inability to continue the siege, or his utter faithlessness to the terms he proposed. He promised amnesty; free exercise of the Reformed religion; and the restoration of all their property to the citizens.

On the 28th of October, the city surrendered in sight of the English fleet. On the very day of the capitulation, the stormy season (later this year than usual) commenced; and on the 6th, 7th and 8th of November, the mole was shattered by a violent tempest from the southeast; and fifty toises swept away. The King, promenading as usual along the smooth, dry surface of the mole, with difficulty and by the greatest activity escaped from the crashing timbers and rising waters that came upon him suddenly.

Immediately after the surrender of the city, the work of dishonour and destruction commenced. The mother of the Duke of Rohan, now passed her seventieth year, and his sister, had shared the miseries of the siege. They were both seized, put in close confinement, with one domestic, and denied the ordinances of religion. They found means to convey intelligence to the Duke, urged him not to be discouraged by their fate, and not to trust to any letters they might be compelled by their enemies to write.

An Edict was promulgated, declaring the independence and privileges of Rochelle at an end, establishing the Romish religion in the city and in the terri-

tory of Aunis, and for seizing the great church for a cathedral: the fortifications of the city, except towards the coast, were to be utterly demolished, every ditch to be filled, and not a wall to be left even for a garden. When a spot in the suburbs was marked out to the astonished inhabitants as the place for their church building, they were tauntingly told that the strict letter of the terms of surrender were fulfilled, for the church was not without the walls of the city. The civil laws of the city were abolished. The great bell which had summoned the mayor, sheriffs and communes, the peers and burgesses to their assemblies was melted. A cross was erected in the castle-yard, commemorative of the surrender of the city; and an order was made that on every returning 21st of November there were to be a solemn procession and thanksgiving.

The heroic Guiton exclaimed against this perfidy: "Had I known that the King would have failed in his promises, he might have entered the city, but not while a single man remained alive within its circuit."

The Cardinal left the city in its ruins and went from province to province, wherever the Huguenots had forces assembled or held cautionary towns. On the taking of Privos, a bloody execution followed. The strong town of Alez, terrified by the fate of Rochelle and Privos, surrendered. With great skill and firmness, the Duke of Rohan held back the remnants of his party from separate treaties; and in July, 1629, concluded terms of peace for the whole party; the King of England having concluded a separate treaty for himself.

A royal Edict of grace and pardon was issued, proclaiming the triumph of the King, the establishment of the Romish form of religion, and a desire that the Reformed would return to a church in which their ancestors had belonged: "What greater testimony of paternal affection can I offer than a wish to see all my children treading the same path of salvation which I myself pursue."

The proscription of Rohan and Saubize was annulled; all persons engaged in the late rebellion pardoned; and all the fortifications of the cautionary towns were to be thrown down within three months. The Edict of Nantes was declared to be the standard of the privileges of the Huguenots.

Rohan retired to Venice and engaged in the service of that republic. The Huguenots abandoned all further opposition to the Cardinal by force of arms. The fall of Rochelle was the knell of all political independence in France. The King was now absolute. In turn every noble, whether Romish or Reformed, was stripped of all sovereignty descended from immemorial ancestry; and the chalice, first presented to the Huguenots, was handed round and all compelled to drink.

Henry IV. laid the foundation for the glory and the ruin of his house; Richlieu builded upon it wood and clay carved and moulded in magnificent forms; forms which the poor Cardinal hoped would be gazed on forever; but forms that fell and ruined his reputation, as a statesman or churchman, forever. Truth was wanting; and nothing but truth can stand the test of time.

## CHAPTER VIII.

From the taking of Rochelle, 1628, to the death of Richlieu, late in 1642, followed by the death of Louis XIII., early in 1643.

HAVING broken the political organization of the Huguenots, and established the strict construction of the Edict of Nantes by the destruction of the fortifications of the cautionary towns, Richlieu affected to esteem the Reformed as faithful subjects of the King, and confirmed to them their religious privileges.

The contest was now between him and the princes of the blood and the nobles of France. It was intense and protracted. The post of honour and influence next the King was in the hands of Richlieu. The princes and nobles each wished it for himself; and were all opposed first to Richlieu and then to each other. The success of the Cardinal, in holding his position for a succession of years was, in part, occasioned by their dissensions. When united, they compelled Richlieu to give way. The King never loved him; he could not be satisfied that his Prime Minister should have an authority by the principles of his Church, from which there could not be an appeal even by himself. He bowed willingly to his two favourites, because he loved them and they did not pretend to control him. He dreaded and yet clung to

Richlieu. The arrogance of the Cardinal offended ; the talents of the ministers were necessary to complete the political organization of France as an absolute monarchy.

Louis sympathized with the nobles of his court caballing against a priest of comparatively ignoble blood ; and he sighed for the uncontrolled dominion promised by the Prime Minister.

The very success of Richlieu in his foreign negotiations, such as breaking off the Prince of Wales from the match with the Infanta of Spain, even after he had visited her in her father's palace at Madrid ; and binding him to France, and the Romish Church, by marriage with the sister of Louis XIII., and consequently nullifying the aid the English nation designed for Rochelle ; and opening a way to the very heart of the English nation for the Pope's missionaries ; his success in forming an alliance of the maritime powers of Europe against Spain, the daughter of whose King was the wife of Louis XIII., and the politics of whose court had, from the time of Henry II., more or less controlled the politics of France ; his success in contending with the Pope's best supporters, the branches of the house of Austria, and calling the Protestant nations to aid him or stand neuter, and neither interfere in that struggle or move a finger, while he destroyed the Protestant strength of France ; all these things terrified the King, while the Cardinal was giving pages to the history that should tell how France, under the Bourbons, rose to the great and giddy height to sink into the fiery vortex of the Revolution,



the astonishment and pity of Europe and the world; and yet he knew not how to live without his aid.

The Cardinal, for years, was the master of France and the tyrant of his King. Richlieu was fitted for the age of Louis XIII.; and the age of Louis XIII., with its weak King, dissipated court, and disjointed nation, was the very scene for the Cardinal. He seemed to know his time, and his place, and his work; despotism in the State and unity in the externals of the Church.

Apparently busy in the great political movements of France, he appeared not to know that the meshes of destruction were drawing closer and closer around the temples and worship and all religious privileges of the Huguenots. No one saw, or dared pretend to see, the governing hand of the Cardinal working out the ruin of those religious privileges secured to them by that very Edict of Nantes he had promised to maintain.

That Edict, drawn up at great length, in ninety-two articles, having an abundance of minute directions, and provisos, and limitations, and explanations of things given and not given, promised and not promised, of things to be done and things not to be done, was connected with a second part of fifty-six articles, correcting, and enlarging, and limiting, and confirming the first Edict. And to this was annexed what was named a brevet, securing the gratuity to the Reformed for the taxes they paid to the support of the Romish Church. And to these were added a

lengthy explanation about the cautionary towns and other matters.

In the application of these one hundred and fifty articles, modifying and in a measure repealing each other, it was a very easy thing for the subordinates of the Cardinal to interfere with the rights and privileges of the Reformed, under plea of some article of the Edicts.

Some circumstance about a church building, or a burying ground, or a private house, or a pastor, might give a pretext for intermeddling and making trouble about the possession or enjoyment. And there were so many ways in which the case could be referred to courts in which the Protestants could hope for no redress; and so many ways in which they might be debarred enjoying a righteous decision, that there is no wonder that with the disposition to disturb the Reformed in their religion, many cases of grievance occurred.

Ostensibly immersed in great cares of State, and of his holy office, the Cardinal listened with apparent surprise, in which the King heartily joined, to the complaints of the Reformed.

A brief sketch of the business brought before two National Synods will expose the acts and designs of the court and the honesty and sufferings of the Reformed as a Church and the Huguenots as a body. Much that ought to have gone to his Majesty in another form found its way, after the breaking up of the political assemblies of the Huguenots, through the Church courts to the throne. Not because the Synod

wished it, but because the King willed it and necessity forced it.

The Twenty-Sixth National Synod met at Charenton September 1, 1631, after an interval of five years. The interval and the meeting were both by will of the court, that is, of Richlieu. Mestrezat, pastor of Paris, presided.

His Majesty's commissioner appeared with his Majesty's warrant for the meeting: 1st. The King insisted on his device of 1623, directing a commissioner to attend, in his name, all the Synods and Colloquies; and a meeting without a commissioner was pronounced unlawful. The commissioner was to decide whether any business proposed was, or was not, proper to be considered by the meeting. 2d. The annual gratuity had been withheld; but the King promised to pay the expenses of the meeting and the travelling expenses of the members. 3d. The King claimed the right of determining the length of time the Synod should sit. 4th. He demanded that the preachers should not touch upon politics in their pulpits. 5th. He declared the book of Beraud, defending the right of ministers to engage in war, was prohibited. 6th. He demanded that no foreign born minister should be settled in France; granting a dispensation, if desired, for those already settled, but forbidding the introduction of any more. 7th. Some members of Synod forbidden to take their seats; upon the entreaty of Synod, were permitted to appear.

The King, by his commissioner, claimed and exer-

cised a supervision, and in some degree the direction of the ecclesiastical meetings of the Reformed.

“The Confession of Faith was read, word for word, every article posedly and in its proper order, approved and signed by all the deputies who were sent and commissioned by the provinces; and they did protest that they would live and die in the confession of that faith, that they would teach it unto their churches, and put to it their helping hand, that it might be inviolably kept and preserved to posterity.”

“The whole book of the Discipline of the Church having been read over, the deputies of the provinces did, in their own name, and in theirs who had commissioned them, sign it, promising solemnly that they would observe it, and see it exactly observed by their respective provinces.”

Appeals from the Provincial Synods came up and were disposed of; cases requiring the attention of Synod received counsel and advice and direction; the colleges and universities presented their accounts; various petitions were answered. The division of the annual bounty could not take place, as the sum promised year by year had not been paid for five years, and there were some deficiencies on previous years. This act of ill faith greatly perplexed the Synod. Their regular taxes were required for the Romish Church, and their gratuity in return was withheld.

As the first step to reduce by force the Huguenots as a political body, was taken in Bearne, the little kingdom inherited by Louis from his father, Henry IV. of France and Henry of Navarre, Richlieu began

to move against the National Synod of France, in the same quarter.

A commissioner had been sent to be present at the Synod to be a spy and agent of the King; but that was no more, ostensibly, than a measure of order and peace.

Communications with foreign churches by letters, or deputies, or giving and receiving pastors, had been prohibited by the King, as a measure of nationality necessary from the condition of Europe. But now the component part of the Synod in the bounds of his Majesty's dominions came under the review and decision of Richlieu.

The deputies from the churches of Bearne had been admitted to a seat in the National Synod of France from the beginning, but with some relaxation of particular rules concerning appeals. The laws of the little kingdom required all appeals to be settled in the kingdom of Bearne by the Church authorities there. After the action of Louis XIII. abrogating the church laws of Bearne, and establishing the national religion of France as the religion of Bearne, and levelling her to the condition of a province in regard to religion, it was proposed, for the union and peace of the Reformed, that the churches of Bearne should be considered as being on the same footing with the churches in France proper.

To this Richlieu, by the commissioner, objected. And in this National Synod he objected to the enrollment of the deputies of Bearne. The argument he used was, that by the laws of Bearne, made in the

days of Jean De Albert, who set up the Reformed Church, it was determined that all matters of ecclesiastical concern should be settled within the State; and that subjects living in Bearne could not withdraw themselves from the control of these laws; and, consequently, they could not enlarge the bounds of appeals by taking them to the National Synod of France, whereas, by the laws of Bearne they were confined to Provincial Synods in Bearne.

To this it was replied that the Reformed religion was no longer the State religion of Bearne; and that Bearne was now under the same King as France, and the Edict of Nantes applied to them as well as the Reformed of France proper; and there was no reason why the churches of Bearne should not be upon equality with the churches of France.

The Synod decided that in receiving the deputies they had not supposed they went contrary to the mind and will of the King, "but we did, as in duty bound, believe it a thing already granted by his Majesty."

The final decision of the question was left open. At the next Synod the deputies were enrolled as representing a component part of Synod. But the object of Richlieu was obtained. He had fixed it as a principle in the mind of the King and his court, that the jurisdiction of the Reformed Church was at the will of the King and his minister; and, consequently, her exercise of authority, and her very existence itself, was at the will of the King.

The National Synod met but three times after this development. The King hated the Reformed as he

did his mother. They had given him his life and his position. He had imprisoned her ; and wished to annihilate the Reformed, saying, “ A party that had power to give him the crown had power to take it away.”

The Synod sent, by a committee, a paper to the King, in which they remind his Majesty of the Edicts he had made in their favour, and had “ placed in the rank and classes of fundamental laws of your kingdom, we most humbly supplicate your Majesty to ordain that they may be exactly observed and punctually executed.”

They state their grievances : 1st. Their churches desolated “ through the infelicities of the late troubles and the rigours of that decree made in your Majesty’s Council, the last May, out of favour to the Lord Bishop of Valence.” In Vivarets, twenty-nine churches were destitute of religious worship ; in Se-vennes, nineteen ; in Re and Oleron, twenty-four ; and seven other provinces were named as great sufferers. They say : “ The provinces demand no new favour of your Majesty, but only what has been formerly granted them by your Edicts.” 2d. They state that in divers provinces many ministers were prevented from preaching according to the Confession of Faith and Discipline of our churches, even in moderation and according to their rights and privileges. 3d. That the governors of provinces do very much hinder the meeting of Colloquies and Provincial Synods by neglecting to appoint the commissioners required by his Majesty to attend at each meeting, de-

laying, in some cases, the meetings for three or four years. 4th. That the Reformed are, for the most part, excluded and deprived of all offices, charges, public dignities, of being doctors, and of forming colleges of physicians, and are not suffered to be masters of those very trades and arts in which they have been educated. 5th. They ask for the deliverance of those who, for the late troubles, are on board the galleys in chains, as promised in the treaties and Edicts. 6th. The great deficiency in their annual gratuity. 7th. That the ministers in Bearne were deprived of about half their allowance made a few years since; they being cut down from four hundred and eighty livres to two hundred and thirty-four.

Professor Rivet, of the University of Leyden, was informed that, being a Frenchman, he could not, by the decision of the King, accept a settlement in the house of the Prince of Orange, but by permission of his Majesty.

The King referred all the grievances to his minister Richlieu, who may be considered the author of them all. With many compliments the Cardinal assured them that proper answers would be given after the Synod should adjourn.

There were four universities in operation: one at Montauban; one at Saumur; one at Nismes; and one at Die. Another at Sedan was under the direction of the Duke Bouillon. The Synod required particular attention to the Greek tongue, as on account of the poverty of the universities there were not Professors of Greek or of the Hebrew; and the Greek was likely



to be undervalued. The regents of the first and second classes were required to teach the Greek tongue diligently.

The Cardinal, who understood all the grievances, and could have relieved them all at a word, pretended to be entirely engrossed with the great affairs of Europe. The Emperor Ferdinand was aiming, like his great predecessor, Charles V., to unite the civil and religious power of Germany, in his own person, by reducing the Princes of the Empire and the Electors to the condition of *grandees* of Spain; and to bring all the higher ranks of ministers of religion to the rank or condition of chaplains to the Emperor. The power which in France was fast passing into the hands of the King and the Cardinal, the Emperor of Germany desired to have centred in himself. The Emperor and Richlieu had the same object in view, in part, the centralization of power; they differed in the circumstances. In France, Richlieu would be head of the church; out of it, he wished the Pope to be absolute head; he would yield something to that supremacy in France itself.

As Prime Minister of France, Richlieu must oppose the colossal designs of Ferdinand. As the Emperor began to encroach upon the Protestants in Germany, and would bring them and the Romish Church into subjection, the Cardinal, while suffering the Reformed to be oppressed in France, interposed for the Protestants of Germany. The Emperor's designs were broken; and the Cardinal cherished the same feelings to the Protestants in Germany and the Re-

formed in France. He desired and laboured for the destruction of both.

The Twenty-seventh National Synod was held at Alençon, in Normandy, commencing its sessions on Wednesday, the 27th of May, 1637, after an interval of about six years. The interval and the meeting were both at the will of the court. Benjamin Basnage presided.

A catalogue of the members was made out in full for the use of the Synod. In France and Bearne there were six hundred and twenty-six churches served by six hundred and forty-seven ministers, under the care of sixteen provincial Synods and sixty-three Colloquies.

The Confession of Faith and the Form of Discipline were read in full, and reëffirmed. The usual course respecting appeals and matters of discipline was pursued.

The King's Commissioner, the Lord St. Marks, in his speech, said the Reformed were happier since they had lost the cautionary towns; and called on them to be thankful for it; and said that his majesty required, 1st, that this Synod and the provincial Synods refrain from any foreign correspondence. 2d. That there shall not be appointed any deputies to communicate with the provinces about political affairs, because the Reformed are not a body politic. 3d. A Synod and churches may not correspond with each other upon ecclesiastical affairs. 4th. That the ministers preach that it is in no wise lawful, on any pretext, to rebel against the King, or to charge the government with any

ill-design against your religion. 5th. That in their sermons the ministers should not use the words, “torments,” “martyrs,” and “persecutions of the Church of God.” 6th. To refrain from calling the Pope “anti-Christ,” and believers in the Romish forms “idolaters,” or any scandalizing words, upon pain of silencing the ministers and dissolving the religious Church meetings. 7th. No books whatever to be printed till examined by two ministers authorized to do it. 8th. That preachers preach only where they make their actual residence, and not make excursions to preach or have annexations—that is, more places of preaching than one. 9th. To refrain from taking the fifth penny out of the poors’ box—that is, the Sabbath collections—for the maintainance of the Universities; but permission is given, that on one of the twelve New Years’ Days, the principal inhabitants of a town or Church may assemble and make out a list of those to pay the amount to be raised for salary and other expenses coming on the people, and the list be presented to the Judge Royal, and be authorized by him; and any one taxed shall be compelled to pay by the laws of the land. 10th. That baptism performed by a midwife, or other person, by pouring water on the child, shall not be sempled, as that will lead to rebaptizing of no one knows how many. 11th and lastly. This list of greivances be labelled; “The Cahier and Memoirs of the Pretended Reformed Religion.”

Although Bearne was united to the Church of France, the King determined that appeals from the

lower judicatories should be decided according to the arrangement made by the Queen of Navarre.

The traffic in slaves being taken up, the Synod exhorts the faithful not to abuse their liberty, contrary to the rules of Christian charity, nor transfer the poor infidels into other hands, besides those of Christians, who may deal kindly with them; and above all, may take special care of their precious immortal souls, and see them instructed in the Christian religion.

In their bill of grievances, sent to the King, the Synod puts the King in mind of what was promised by the 5th and 6th articles of his Edict at Nismes, July, 1629: "Your Majesty, enacting a speedy and real restitution of the exercises of our religion in those places before mentioned;" and then mention thirty-nine places by name, in which worship was set up in accordance with the Edict of Nantes, and were in the exercise in 1620, but are not yet restored. 2d. It then mentions fifty-one places where the exercise has been removed since the troubles in 1626, and ask that it be restored. 3d. That liberty for a minister to preach in more places than one be restored. 4th. The Synod asks that those burying-grounds, taken away before 1625, may be restored according to the Edict, of which they name eight; and that those taken away since the Edict of 1629 may be restored; of these they name nine; and that the building and free use of the churches in those places may be restored, "particularly at Auberne, where the inhabitants are constrained to bury their dead in

wide fields ; and they will not permit more than three persons to accompany the poor corpse unto that uncouth grave neither." 5th. The case of the Church at Alançon is mentioned, where the people are forbid to bury in the yard at St. Bloxy, or in the suburbs, although by decree of his majesty on the 18th of last May the difficulty was to cease. 6th. The conduct of Lord Marchaut toward the Reformed of Gex, in depriving them of their burying-ground, and their share of the common money, and of the hospitals. 7th. The Synod calls attention to the fines laid by the parliament of Brittany on those that did not ornament their houses or bring out tapestry on certain holidays, whereas the Edict of Nantes only requires them to permit it to be done by others. 8th. Also the fines laid on certain persons (cases are named) who do not contribute to certain Romish churches, &c., from which they were set free by the Edict of Nantes. 9th. The Synod complains of taking away the children of the Reformed to be baptized in the Romish churches. (Cases are given contrary to the Edict of Nantes.) 10th. Also of interference with colleges and schools, contrary to the Edict of Nantes. (Cases are given). 11th. Also of the interdicting of the University of Nismes by Lord Caslinear, contrary to his majesty's decree in council for that, and for the University of Montauban, both on the same principle. 12th. The interdicting of Reformed ministers dwelling in towns, (four are named,) contrary to the King's permission, and the Edict of Nantes. 13th. Some unjust taxes and imports are named. 14th. The

Synod entreats the dismissal from the galleys of those who are detained there on account of the troubles of past times. 15th. It complains of assumption by inferior courts, of matters belonging to the court of the Edict. 16th. Also of the interdiction of the Reformed from various offices and stations, to which they are entitled by the Edict of Nantes and the Edict of 1637. 17th. Also of the assumption of power by the parliament of Navarre over the churches of Bearne, about appeals, and tolling of bells, &c. And 18th, and lastly, the Synod requests that his majesty will order all arrears for past years, due upon gratuity, given by the Edict of Nantes, to be paid in full, and continued punctually hereafter.

To this list of grievances the King replied that “as soon as your Synod shall be dissolved, we shall consider of the most favourable answer to be given.”

Monsieur Tertard, pastor of the Church of Blois, and Monsieur Amayrant, pastor of the Church and professor in the University of Saumur, came in person into Synod and declared: “We understand from common fame, that both at home and abroad, and by the consultations and proceedings of sundry provinces; and also from divers books written against us and our printed labours, that we are blamed for that doctrine we have published to the world. And we appear before you to give account of it, and such explanations of our doctrine as the most reverend Synod shall judge needful, and to submit ourselves unto its judgment; and consequently we demand its protection for the support of our innocence, and hope that this

favour will not be denied to us, because we are fully persuaded in our consciences, that we have never taught, either by word or writing, any doctrine repugnant to the word of God, to our Confession of Faith, Catechism, Liturgy, or Canons of the National Synods of Alez and Charenton, which ratified those of Dort, which we have signed with our own hands, and are ready to seal with our blood.”

The Synod heard these explanations in full of their teaching, respecting the atonement of Christ and the decrees of God, and pointed out some phrases which ought to be forborne, some which should be changed, and some from which they enjoined them to refrain. Respecting God's will “that some of His strong desires are not done,” the Synod enjoined caution. On the doctrine of faith, the Synod enjoined that nothing else should be called faith, but what comes from the word and Spirit of God. About man's ability or inability to believe unto salvation, and about the calling of God, the Synod enjoined prudence and caution, and that they be careful to teach “that man is so depraved by the fall that he cannot will any good without the special grace of God, which may produce in us, by the Holy Spirit, to will and to do according to His good pleasure.” Messrs. Amyrant and Tertard having acquiesced, “and having sworn to and subscribed the Confession of Faith, the Assembly gave them the right hand of fellowship, by the hand of the Moderator, and they were honorably dismissed to the exercise of their respective charges. The discussion about the doctrine of these men did not cease in pub-

lic for a long time after this explanation to Synod. The whole matter came before Synod again after some years.

Monsieur Ferrand in his speech to Richlieu, when as a committee of Synod he waited on him, says, that he “is that intelligence who moves this admirable monarchy with the greatest regularity.” He professed everlasting allegiance to the King “by the laws of birth and of conscience.” He says the Reformed pray for the life of the King, “and yours, my lord, whom we reckon, next to God and the King, our Secret Sanctuary;” and he asks deliverance from the violences, “which do every day rob and spoil us of the King’s favour.”

Richlieu went on moving the government with “the greatest regularity” towards the destruction of the Reformed Church, breaking down the nobles one by one, and sometimes by clusters, and curbing the power of the house of Austria. His last and finally effective struggle with the nobles was at the close of a life worn out by excessive action in the accomplishment of his ambitious projects. The Duke of Orleans had conspired with the Duke De Bouillon, Cinque Mars, Master of the Horse, and Monsieur De Thær, to effect the ruin of the Prime Minister. The King was privy to the conspiracy, as far as it had special reference to removing the Cardinal. He probably was not aware of the violence contemplated against the person of Richlieu. Nor was he aware of the treaty these men had made with Spain to assist in thwarting the political movements of the minister, and exposing



France to inroads from Spain. The Cardinal knew of the conspiracy against him as minister, and the extremes the party had contemplated, if necessary, for his removal from office, by assassination. He got certain information of the treaty with Spain nearly at the same time the King was apprised of a disastrous route of part of his forces, by which his capital was exposed. In his alarm the King paid his minister a visit. Richlieu referred to the plot, and complained of the King's complicity. The King confessed his weakness. They became reconciled. Richlieu revealed to him the treaty with Spain, and demanded that the traitors should be summarily dealt with. The King assented. The minister proceeded immediately to arrest the conspirators, and charged their treason upon them. The Duke of Orleans was disgraced; being the King's brother, the Cardinal dared not proceed further in his revenge on him. De Thaer, son of the late president of the Council, was beheaded. Bouillon, to escape the same fate, compromised, and to save his life, gave up to the crown his little independent sovereignty of Sedan. Cinque Mars, who was the King's favourite, was beheaded. The Cardinal was extremely incensed with that young man. He had introduced him to the King in hopes that he might please his Majesty with his fine person, agreeable manners and conversation. The young man became presumptuous, and his success in pleasing the King made him arrogant. Richlieu rebuked him for some of his assumptions, and the young man became the sworn enemy of his patron, and urged on this conspi-

racy to depose the Cardinal, by rendering him odious by ill success, or by assassination. He was but twenty-two years of age when he suffered for his unprincipled course.

The elder Bouillon did not, like Lesdeguieres, turn to the Romish faith in his old age, to secure the reward for the destruction of the Huguenot party. He held to his faith as a member of the Reformed French Church. But in the fruits of his statesmanship, he found the error of its principles. He lost entirely that independent sovereignty he wished to maintain and enlarge for his descendants, and with it all he hoped to gain in political life, and all he ever hoped from admiration of posterity. Du Plessis Mornay and Coligny founded their statesmanship on truth and justice, between man and man, man and his King, man and his God. And their plans will always be admired. They were both unhappily deceived and betrayed by their Sovereigns, whose interest it was to keep faith with them, as the event has long ago proved. They knew they were right, they knew it was for the honour and welfare of their sovereigns and of France that the sacred oaths of majesty should be kept inviolate. They trusted and were betrayed. But their principles will stand forever. Bouillon deceived himself. The King never promised him anything directly. He hoped for what the King did not wish him to have, and Richlieu had determined he should not have, and which was not for the good of France that he should. He temporized, divided, and ruined his party. The younger Bouillon fell in an indefensible effort to cast

down the strongest power in France. We are told that the last days of the elder Bouillon, spent in retirement from court, were his best days; that his state of mind on the approach of death was more elevated and becoming than that of Lesdeguieres in his splendour and bigotry.

Richlieu, wasting with an incurable disease, pressed on with renewed vigour as a warrior, and overthrew the adversaries of the King. Carried from place to place in a small chamber borne on men's shoulders, the feeble old man reached Paris. A breach was made in the walls for him to enter, triumphing, and yet dying. His last note to the King was scrawled with a trembling hand: "Your enemies are dead, and your troops are in possession of Perpignon." His race was run. While he was engaged in the preparations making for a general peace in Europe, he died on the 4th of December, 1642, aged 57, and left the balance of European power to be finished by other hands.

No one mourned for the minister, the cardinal, or the man. The nobles had lost by his life, and gained nothing by his death. The King held the fruits of their subjugation. The Huguenots, as a political party, had felt his overcoming power in their divisions. The Reformed Church knew their privileges were, under God, in his hand, and had besought his clemency, and he had showed them the clemency of the tiger, sparing the victim till the gorged appetite craved another victim. The King lost a powerful minister that had made him a despotic King. But

no success of the minister had won his master's heart. The master felt that the servant was his lord.

Richlieu held the dignity of cardinal for the space of twenty years. He had been counsellor and prime minister to Louis XIII. eighteen years; and died in possession of all his honours, and died rich. He had been ambitious of eminence. He sought it in theological controversy, and was foiled by Pastor Du Maulin. He sought it in polite literature, and was flattered by some courtiers by a favourable comparison with the poets that polished the language of France; but his poetry could not live. He sought it as a political writer; and literary men cannot decide whether the *Testament Politique* is his production or not. He sought it in the honours of his Church, and became cardinal, and as cardinal did nothing that any age has admired. The King was shocked by his private dissoluteness. He sought it in dress and court gallantry, and was laughed at by the ladies, and surpassed by multitudes that thronged the dissipated court. He sought it in the gratifications wealth could give an ecclesiastic; and alarming the King by his great expenditures he presented to his majesty the *Palace Royal*. He sought it in politics, and there gained an unenviable eminence. As counsellor and prime minister, he attracted the attention of France and all Europe. He knew all the ill in men, and had the powers of mind and disposition of heart to guide, seduce, deceive, govern, influence, oppose, and thwart it all for the accomplishment of his designs and his own advancement. He lived in a court and

with a King that appreciated those talents and that heart. The King gave him place and power, and rose with him in the overthrow of all barriers of political liberty. He beguiled the nobles to permit the ruin of the privileges of the Huguenots, and then, one after another, they, divided and taken separately, fell an easy victim to royal prerogative. Last of all fell the Duke of Orleans and Duke Buillon. The politics of Richlieu were triumphant. He had begun to take away the rights and privileges of the Reformed Church; and left the finishing work to his successors. "His enemies were dead, and he had taken France." No time was left him for contemplation of the past, or for planning schemes for the future; his days were numbered. After the passage of centuries, there remains of Richlieu, for France, for science and literature, the Botanic Garden, the French Academy, and the Palace Royal.

Louis XIII. had the heart of his minister. Weak in himself, he was strong in Richlieu's mind. He rejoiced in the success of his minister but five short months; on the 14th of May, 1653, he passed from his throne to his tomb. He left nothing for posterity to admire. He had hated intensely all that was good and noble in France. He never had a truthful favourite. From his youth he had been taught by example and precept, that the policy of courts was to conceal most of the truth and express most of the false in forms to be believed. Entire selfishness was the principle of his government and of his life. A stranger visiting his court would first see an assem-

blage of beautiful, polite, refined women, tastefully clad in robes of splendour; and of elegant, chivalrous gentlemen, soldiers and grave dignitaries, intermingling with respectful cheerfulness and refined etiquette, and over all an air of gayety and modesty and frankness combined. Let him listen to the propositions, declarations, and assignations, the schemes for promotion, and plans for the overthrow of rivals, the falsehood direct, and deceptions indirect, the meaning of words and gestures; and he would go away feeling that the lascivious court of Henry IV. was less intensely wicked than the specious court of his son.

Richlieu expressed his views of religion in his last hours by saying calmly before he died, "I have done nothing but what I thought advantageous to religion and to the state." Cinque Mars might have said the same, and with as much propriety. Both sought a court life, and both found it in France; both found the favour of Louis XIII; both were supremely selfish, and required large expenditures to meet their indulgencies, and were both greedy of large incomes, and not very scrupulous of the sources and means; both deceived their patrons, Richlieu in his first negotiation for the Queen with the young King, and Cinque Mars was false to Richlieu; both used deception and falsehood to carry their measures; both wished to be prime minister; both counted little on human life if it stood as a bar in their way; both plead they wished well to France. Cinque Mars conspired against Richlieu, and the cardinal took off his

head. The cardinal conspired against the nobles and put them down, against the Huguenots and robbed them of their privileges, and destroyed multitudes of loyal citizens, that loved the King more than he did, and said at last he had done all these things for the good of religion.

Under the influence of Richlieu, more or less direct, the number of Reformed pastors was lessened; the number of congregations greatly lessened, and some have supposed that the great body of the Huguenots, by death and exile, were diminished one half from the remains of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Extortion, deception, falsehood, extravagance, selfishness and waste of human life under false pretences, consorted with his ideas of religion while living, and had his approbation when dying.

## CHAPTER IX.

From the death of Richlieu, 1642, to the death of Mazarine, 1661  
—The last public bond of the Huguenots broken.

**M**AZARINE was an Italian. He attracted the attention of Richlieu, when in his twenty-eighth year, by his diplomatic skill in negotiating a treaty between France and the Emperor of Germany, in 1630. He went to France as the Pope's nuncio in 1634, and by his soft manners, tact in political business and despotic principles, both in Church and State, won the confidence of the King and his minister. By their assistance he obtained a cardinal's hat in 1641, and by the death of Richlieu, the next year, he became counsellor to the King. At the death of his majesty, in a few months, he was named as one of the executors of his will, and guardian of the young King, then five years old. The royal widow, Anne of Austria, daughter of the King of Spain and Queen Regent of France, made him prime minister. Louis XIV. passed his minority under the influence of able men. The Duke of Orleans held the post of honour next the King and Regent, the cardinal was put in the council of state, and with them was associated Louis De Bourbon of the Condé line of the royal family, honoured for his great skill and success in military movements, *The Great Conde*. Apparently



there was less concentration of power in one man in this court than in the times of Louis XIII. But Mazarine was the leading spirit in politics and religion. He carried out the great plans of his predecessor. Less arrogant and combative, he was more subtle than Richlieu. Simple in his equipage, plain in his living, he accomplished his purposes more by address than by power. His desire of wealth was insatiable, and he would never lay aside his Italian habits. His rapacity and foreign notions made him many enemies. His principles preserved the friendship of the Queen Regent. Both the cardinal and the Queen felt the necessity of preserving the loyalty of the Huguenots, and though both were determined upon the ultimate destruction of the Reformed Church, they gave permission for the National Synod to hold its meeting after an interval of seven years.

On the 26th day of December, 1644, the Twenty-Eighth National Synod commenced its sessions at Charenton, near Paris. Pastor Dulincourt, of Paris, opened the meeting with prayer, and Garrisoles, professor of Divinity and pastor of the church at Montauban, was chosen Moderator. Lord Camont, the King's commissioner, in his speech, put the Synod in mind of the fact that the King, early in his reign, had confirmed to the Reformed the freedom of their religion, and liberty of conscience, according to the Edict of Nantes, with the safety of their persons and their enjoyment of their property and their churches. He called the attention of Synod to the success of the Duke of Orleans at Gravelin, and the victories at

Roiray, Thiersville, Spiers, Worms, Mentz, and Phillipsburg, and the defeat of the Bavarian army in its trenches. All these were mentioned as having taken place under the Queen Regent, the Duke of Orleans, the young King, and Mazarine. He declares the favour shown by the court to the Reformed: "that there be of your religion in the kingdom persons of the highest quality ; that there be among you most noble and illustrious dukes and peers, marshals of France, generals of armies, governors and magistrates, and judges in sovereign courts, and your majesties, now this very day, out of that great confidence they have in your loyalty, have granted to you this assembly, at the very gates of the metropolis of the kingdom, in the very view of all France, and of this infinite people of all Paris, a people vastly different from you in manners and religion, in humours and inclinations, who will be severe witnesses and judges of all your actions." He then proceeded to tell the Synod that none but natural born subjects, and those who are deputies from the provincial synods with letters, are to vote in the Synod ; that all political subjects and those which can be settled in the mixed courts, are to be excluded from the Synod, and not make part of their memorials to the King. He further informed them that the King forbid their sending their children to be educated in Geneva, Switzerland, Holland or England ; nor were any that had been educated in any of those countries, or their universities, to be ordained ministers, or admitted as pastors. His Majesty, he said, greatly blamed various sentences in their Confession which

bore upon the Romish Church, especially articles 24th and 28th, which his majesty cannot suffer to be sworn in the National Synod. These and other matters of the same sort and complexion, uttered in the name of the young King, are to be understood as the will of the Queen Regent and Mazarine, the King being but yet a boy.

The Moderator, in his reply, bowed in submission to his majesty's commands in the general. In regard to the sentences in the Confession, he said, they were formed before the Edict of Nantes, and were well known to the Kings that had reigned; that they were presented to Francis I., as their reasons for desiring a Reformation, and it was not in the power of this Synod to change what had been so long, ever since 1559, and generally sanctioned. About sending their children abroad for education, which they had long practised, he prayed they might be permitted the privilege allowed to other professions, which all sent abroad their students at pleasure. The letters received from the pastors and professors at Geneva, from Diodaté about his translation of the Bible, from Revet, and three other professors in Leyden, were all, unopened, put into the hands of the commissioner, who having read them, permitted the Assembly to read them, and then sent the originals to the King. The Synod was informed that answers were not to be returned.

In a letter to the young King—often referring to their prayers for him—the Synod declares: “We believe, sire, that God hath given you out of the treasures of his mercy, out of the riches of his grace,

unto your France, to bring back unto us the golden age. We labour, and shall by the most signal tokens of fidelity always labour, to render ourselves worthy of these favours ; and for that *our lives, fortunes, and honours* shall be all sacrificed with the greatest cheerfulness in your majesty's service."

In the letter to the Queen Regent, the Synod says, the Reformed "are immovably resolved to live and die in your and his majesty's service—the dear son of your majesty, a King obtained of God by the common united supplications of all France."

The Confession of Faith was read as usual, word by word, and signed by all the deputies for themselves and the provinces they represented ; and they made the solemn protestation that they would persist in it to their last gasp. This usual solemn asservation made so soon after the injunction to change some expressions, was never overlooked by Mazarine.

A form of baptism for Pagans, Jews, Mahometans and Anabaptists converted to the Reformed faith, with instructions covering six folio pages, was adopted by Synod.

Permission was granted to some of the larger churches in the kingdom to handle the catechism on Sabbath by way of common places, or lectures, rather than by question and answers, and to assemble their grown youth on certain days preceding the communion for catechism ; and that other churches that cannot every Lord's day catechise their children, shall choose some week day for this exercise, especially before the Lord's supper. Provincial Synods to see

to the careful fulfilment of this order. And the order in the Canons for explaining the books of Scripture in their order from beginning to end, in the Sabbath services, is to be understood as not forbidding the occasional use of texts from other books on particular seasons, or as requiring to be carried out in the week day services.

Complaint being made against Amyrant, Professor at Saumur, for publishing his book on Reprobation, and some other subjects, contrary to the decisions of the Synod of Alançon, he appeared before Synod and made his defence, and was honourably returned to his professorship. The Synod reënacted its orders on printing and disputing on mysterious and unprofitable subjects. "And all students of divinity are most expressly enjoined, upon pain of being declared unworthy of ever serving in the sacred ministry, to raise any stirs or debates about unnecessary questions, (as concerning God's decrees, and of universal salvation,) points only propounded and advanced by pure curiosity, and for the exercise of men's wit."

Information being laid before the Synod, that emigrants from foreign countries, called Independants, were making settlements in the maritime provinces, and it appearing, after consideration, that the peculiar traits of these people, that each church and congregation should be governed by its own laws, without any subordination in ecclesiastical matters, were of an evil tendency, the Synod, "fearing lest the contagion of this poison should diffuse itself insensibly, and bring with it a world of disorders and confusions

upon us, and judging the said sect of Independentism not only prejudicial to the Church of God, (because as much as in it lieth, it doth usher in confusion, and openeth a door to all kinds of singularities and extravagancies, and barreth the use of those means, which would most effectually prevent them,) but also is very dangerous unto the civil; for in case it should prevail and gain ground among us, it would form as many religions as there be parishes and distinct particular assemblies among us: all provinces are therefore enjoined, but more especially those which border on the sea, to be exceeding careful, that this evil do not get footing in the churches in this kingdom; that so peace and uniformity of religion and discipline may be preserved inviolably, and nothing may be innovated or changed among us which may in any wise derogate from that duty and service we owe unto God and the King."

The Synod might have added, that it feared these emigrants would add to the grievous burdens the Reformed already bore from a suspicious government, by affording a pretext for the plea of disorganization, and promoting a greater number of small assemblies, particularly as restrictions were laid upon the old and well known meetings of the provincial Synods, Colloquies and Consistories, that were bound by well known laws, and subject to the higher powers. Every thing in France was trembling before the unity of the despotic tendency of the government.

A production of De La Place, setting forth the doctrine that original sin consists only in that cor-

ruption which is hereditary to all Adam's posterity, residing originally in all men, and denying the imputation of the first sin, came under the consideration of Synod; and the doctrine was condemned as far as it restraineth the nature of original sin to the hereditary corruption of Adam's posterity, to the exclusion of the imputation of that first sin by which Adam fell. The Synod interdicted, on pain of church censures, all pastors and professors, and others who shall treat of the question, departing from the common and received opinion of the Protestant Church. Colloquies, on receiving candidates for the ministry, were directed to require the candidates to subscribe and sign this act of Synod.

Drelinecourt, one of the pastors of Paris, received the thanks of Synod for his book on the worship of the Virgin Mary, as maintained by the Bishop of Bellay; and he was entreated to consecrate the residue of his labours and studies to the edification of God's Church, and the confutation of its adversaries. De Artois, pastor of the Church of St. Hilary, was commended for his diligence in the preparation of a volume on texts of Scripture that seemingly differ; and the examination of the book, and the printing was committed to the Synod of Poictou. Bernardin's work, in refutation of the annals of Baconius, was referred to the Synod of Lower Guienne, to judge of its usefulness. Blondel was requested by Synod to continue in the office of pastor in the city; and was exhorted to hasten the publication of those treatises in divinity and history, the catalogue of which was

read in Synod, particularly the treatises concerning priests and deacons, and the want of evidence that Peter was over at Rome. An annual pension of a thousand livres, to be paid regularly, was imposed on the provincial Synods for his advantage, according to an assessment made. Chauvernoun, Mestrezet, De Croy, Aubertin, and Daillé, were requested to fill up the few chapters left unfinished by Chamier in his great work.

The University of Sedan, representing its prosperity since the principalities of Sedan and Rencourt were incorporated with the crown, the Synod expressed its satisfaction, and declared that equal respect should be had to that University with the four created in the kingdom.

Particular attention was enjoined to the protest of Synod against the doctrine of transubstantiation; and against any acts that may seem to imply respect to the Host.

An injunction was laid on all those churches, "which enjoy the privilege of a printing press," not to let any alteration be made in the Bible, Book of Psalms, Confession of Faith, Liturgy and Catechism, without an express order from the Consistory, which is authorized thereto by the provincial Synods.

The loyalty of the Huguenots and the disingenuity of the court, are both most clearly developed in the intrigues and contentions about the possession and education of the young King, involving plans and intrigues about the crown itself to be placed upon the head of some one of maturer years, of another



branch of the royal house, which culminated in the "War of Fronde." De Retz led the nobles in their discontent, on some subjects of taxation forced upon the attention of the parliament, by them rejected, and ending in the imprisonment of the president and councillor, by Mazarine. Violence ensued. Mazarine, the Queen regent, and the young King fled to St. Germain. Condé raised forces and besieged Paris in favour of Louis XIV. and his minister. This rebellion lasted for some years; and though not bloody, was not settled till about the time the King came to his majority. In all the contentions and intrigues the great body of the Huguenots remained firm to the Bourbon line, and to the reigning family of that line, and to the regency of the Queen Mother. The inhabitants of Rochelle resisted the rebels, and declared for the young King. The students of Montauban raised with their own hands part of the fortifications required to protect the forces of the King. Other villages, that had suffered under Louis XIII., maintained their loyalty in this time of trial. The Reformed were convinced there was not cause for changing the succession to the crown from the grandson of Henry IV., whom their fathers had put upon the throne. And besides, a revolution did not, in any event, promise them any advantage. Had the Huguenots, in memory of their late disasters from the ministers of Louis XIII., joined the rebel party, undoubtedly there would have been a revolution. The Count De Harcourt acknowledged that the safeguard of the State had been in the Protestants; and

said to the deputies from Montauban, "The crown was tottering on the head of the King, but you re-established it." De Retz finally changed to be for the King, and Condé changed to be against him, exasperated by the neglect of the King after his great services; and further irritated by Mazarine, who was jealous of the influence of Condé's great abilities and splendid actions. When Condé was in rebellion he served the King of Spain; and urged Cromwell to join Spain against France. Cromwell treated the proposal as madness, and said: "The Prince is sold by his own friends to the Cardinal." The reply of the Huguenots to the frequent questions put by the royalists, whenever they met, became the designation of the King's party. "For which side are you—for the Frondé?" "So far from it, God save the King." And they were called, "So-far-from-its." Mazarine, sensible of the services rendered by the Huguenots, said, "I have no complaints to make of the little flock; and if it does graze on poisonous herbs, it, at least, does not sting."

In 1652 the King passed his minority. The deputations of the Reformed were received with marks of favour by the young King, and his mother, and the prime minister. Soon local privileges were given to the provinces. The Cardinal spoke of the citizens of Montauban as his "good friends." An Edict, bearing date May 2d, 1652, confirmed more solemnly than before the provisions of the Edict of Nantes, revoking the subsequent arrests by which it was contradicted or limited, and ascribing its enactment to

the assured proof of affection and fidelity of the Huguenots, under recent circumstances, to the great satisfaction of their sovereign. The Huguenots had reason to hope for favour from the grandson of the first Bourbon King. They had been the great power by which Henry IV. rose to the throne; they had preserved the succession to Louis XIII., as he and his mother acknowledged; and now to Louis XIV. they had been a defence and a helper, without whose aid he would not, by his own concessions, in human probability have remained upon the throne. They had a right to expect the same freedom in their religion as was granted by the first Bourbon, with additional privileges of a religious and civil nature; for who more faithful to the throne?

Before these difficulties about the crown and regency of France were brought to a happy close, the long disputed question of balance of power in Europe was (1658) finally settled by the famous *Peace of Westphalia*. Whether it bore more resemblance to the plan of Henry IV., or that of Richlieu, or the one desired by Mazarine, is of less consequence than the fact, that the Protestant religion was recognized as a constituted part of the ceremony of the northern nations of Europe, and to be maintained with all its rights and privileges according to the treaty of Passau, in 1552, and the decisions of the Diet at Augsburg, that followed as soon as convenient. The boundaries of France and Germany were adjusted; the great plans of Charles V., for which he wasted his life, were abandoned. Popery was not the

sole form of religion in Europe, even among the southern nations; for Holland and Switzerland were acknowledged independent Protestant powers, and the politics of Europe settled down upon that basis which remained for centuries; so that England with her fleet, and isolated position, held the balance of power in her hand, and became "the bulwark of the Protestant faith."

France and Spain continued at war for some years, on matters that little concerned the rest of Europe. Agreeing on the principles of despotism, both in religion and in the State, they were brought to harmonize, at last, by a treaty of concord, and the marriage of Louis XIV. with the infanta of Spain. This final adjustment of the state of Protestantism in Europe encouraged the loyal Huguenots to hope for their rights and privileges in France.

These good hopes were destined soon to be disturbed. The massacre of the Vaudois, in 1655, by some French troops in the employ of the Duke of Savoy, filled the Reformed in France, and throughout all Europe, with distress and indignation. Letters were addressed by the secretary of Cromwell, John Milton, to the Duke of Savoy, the King of France, Cardinal Mazarine, the King of Denmark, the Genoese, the United Provinces, the evangelical cities of Switzerland, and to the King of Sweden, in solemn remonstrance against what was believed to be a general conspiracy for the extermination of the Protestant Church, "which, though first begun upon the poor and helpless people, threatens all that possess the

same religion, and therefore imposes upon all a greater necessity of providing for themselves;" and calling on all to combine against the Duke of Savoy. The attention of the world was turned to the Vaudois and their persecutor, with the deep conviction that Cromwell was fully able to accomplish what he proposed. Louis XIV. disavowed the acts of his troops, reprimanded their officers, and admonished the Duke of Savoy to forbear.

Another alarm came upon the Huguenots. The Romish clergy obtained an Edict, dated July 18th, 1656, explaining the Edict of May '52, annulling the favourable clauses, by declaring the previous acts repealed in 1652, to be all valid. It promised that, on account of innovations, said to have crept into the exercise of the Reformed religion, the King would send two commissioners, one a Catholic and the other a Huguenot, into each province to reform abuses.

The alarm was increased by an Edict issued July 25th, 1657, forbidding the meeting of Colloquies. These were necessary for the ordaining of ministers and the discipline of the Church. The reason assigned for the Edict was that it might be abused for political purposes, particularly as commissioners had not been appointed to attend upon and regulate the meetings, as had been done for the Synods. Ten deputies, elected by the Synods, waited on the King with a remonstrance. Permission was with difficulty obtained for its presentation. Vague and unsatisfactory answers were returned by the King and Cardinal. Promises were made that the Edict of Nantes should

be observed, provided the Reformed showed themselves worthy by their loyalty. This was a grievous insult to the loyal Huguenots, after all they had done for the Bourbons.

The ecclesiastics were filling the ears of the King with the cry that had disturbed Louis XIII., under Richlieu—that it was true, that the Huguenots had maintained the crown for his majesty, but this showed the strength of the party; and the same party that put the crown upon his head, might, by change of circumstances, take it off; the party, therefore, was too strong, and ought to be reduced or destroyed. No services of the past, no faithfulness in principle or action, could satisfy the unreasonable suspicion of an arbitrary King, guided by an arbitrary prime minister. The party strong enough to do a thing, might do that thing, notwithstanding all their principles or previous course, and must be treated as if they had done the evil they might do.

Cromwell, in 1658, hearing of the desigus of the Duke of Savoy against the Vaudois, sent a second remonstrance by his secretary, Milton, to the King of France. Cromwell soon died. The war with Spain was settled by treaty; and the King was relieved of his fears of foreign intervention. He had time to perfect the schemes of Mazarine for the ruin of the Reformed Church, against whom his jealousies had been more inflamed by the intervention of Cromwell for the Vaudois branch of the Protestant or Reformed Church. He yielded to the principles of Mazarine—that there should be but one Church and one King in

France, with one prime minister the head of the Gallican Church.

After an interval of fourteen years, Mazarine permitted the Reformed to hold their Twenty-ninth National Synod, intending it should be the last. His plans were ripe; and their destruction near.

It commenced its sessions at Loudon, in the province of Anjou, the 10th of November, 1659. Pastor Daillé was chosen to preside. The Lord Marquis Ruvigny, the general deputy at court, read the King's commission for holding a Synod, on the usual conditions of avoiding all subjects not warranted by the Edicts, and that his Majesty's commissioner should be present at all their meetings. The Lord De Mazarine, Councillor to his Majesty, then read the patent of the King, appointing him commissioner. In the usual opening speech, he put the Synod in mind, that the favour of its meeting was due to his Majesty's clemency, and particularly to the "kindness and justice of his Majesty's first and principle Minister of State, his eminency the Lord Cardinal Mazarine." He calls on the Synod, as a representative body, to promote greater peace and union among themselves and the body they represent; and warns them, as they had lost the fortresses and forces in which they had trusted for defence, their only refuge was in the King's clemency, particularly as he and the majority of the nation "do not in the least approve of your religion; and you know by good experience that there is nothing more expedient, or advantageous for you, than entire submission to his Majesty's commands; and

next, and immediately after God, that you should depend upon the King's sovereignty." He then stated: 1st. That they were not to make a demand of the King for a political assembly, for the election of a deputy commissioner. 2d. That the General Deputy, the Lord Ruvigny had been permitted to take his seat in Synod and enjoy all the privileges of his predecessors. 3d. No secular matters of any kind to be debated. 4th. No assembly to be held, little or great, by day or by night, but in my presence. 5th. They were expressly forbidden in their sermons and in their books to apply the word, anti-Christ to the Pope, or call the members of the Romish Church, idolaters, nor apply the words, abuse and deceits of Satan, to the Romish religion, "his Majesty not being able to suffer that such words should be sworn in this Synod." 6th. In all attestations given to candidates or ministers, the place of their birth shall be inserted, as foreigners may not be admitted into the ministry on any condition. 7th. That persons that have pursued their studies in Geneva, or Switzerland, England, or Holland, are to be debarred the ministry. 8th. All letters to the Synod to be opened and read by the commissioner, and no letter from foreigners to be read before Synod. 9th. A sermon to be preached before Synod on the unlawfulness of taking arms against the King, their sovereign, on any account. 10th. His majesty requires the Reformed, instead of presenting grievances, to amend their own ways, and designates two ways in which there may be amendment, the setting up of ministers



in forbidden places and the opposition of parents to having their children educated in the Romish colleges, and the using of the poor's money to other uses.

11th. His Majesty propounds, *that for the future all power shall be given to the provincial Synods "for knowing, regulating, and terminating affairs which may fall out in the provinces of this kingdom, the cognizance whereof did only formerly belong unto those National Synods, which his majesty is resolved shall never be held any more but when as he thinks meet."*

12th. That no matters of a religious nature, except that which concerns the provinces, be debated in this assembly in any manner and form; and that letters sent by deputies abroad about matters abroad shall not be read in Synod.

13th. That writings of what quality soever concerning foreign countries not under his majesty's jurisdiction are forbidden the Synod, nor may they be published nor spread abroad in London. Should such papers be found they are to be carefully suppressed.

14th. No book treating of the Protestant Reformed religion, whether printed within or without the kingdom, to be vended by any one "till they have been first approved by two ministers of this kingdom."

15th. That no general fasts be appointed.

16th. That the meeting of Synod be short.

Daillé, the Moderator, in reply, in the name and by the advice of Synod, stated—1st. That the appointment of Ruvigny as general deputy was very agreeable to Synod, and his commission had been approved. 2nd. That the debates in Synod should be as usual, confined to ecclesiastical affairs; and all debates on

these matters would be held in Synod in his presence. 3rd. That the Synod hoped that the King would not oppose the long established custom of holding a fast, as the Reformed prayed for the perpetuity of the succession in his majesty's family. 4th. That the words anti-Christ, idolatry, deceits of Satan, were found in their Confession, and were words that gave the reasons for the separation from the Church of Rome, and for the doctrines maintained in the worst of times—"which we are fully resolved, through the aids of divine grace, never to abandon, but to keep faithfully and inviolably to the last gasp." 5th. The Synod asks that those born in the kingdom and "educated in commonwealths might be permitted to exercise their ministry in the kingdom." 6th. All letters to the Synod to be read by the commissioner, but the Synod hopes his majesty will suffer them to hold communions and correspondence with the brethren on matters concerning the Reformed religion. 7th. The Synod professes submission and loyalty to his majesty for whom the Reformed pray in all their assemblies. 8th, and complains that the Reformed are blamed for educating their children according to ancient custom, in the religion of their fathers. 9th. An explanation is given of the use made of the poor's money—that is, the money collected at the close of their public worship. 10th. The Synod objects strongly to the proposition of doing away with the meetings of the National Synod—and declare that there are great difficulties in the way of making the Provincial Synods courts of the last resort. 11th. Request was made that his majesty

permit correspondence with neighbouring churches on matters of religion and discipline, as had been permitted in former reigns, particularly with those nations in league with France. 12th. About the duration of Synod, request was made for time to transact the great amount of business accumulated in the fourteen years since the last Synod. 13th. The Synod professing loyalty for themselves and the Reformed as Frenchmen, and as Reformed holding a purer religion, express desires for the long life and prosperity of his majesty, for a blessing on his intended marriage, for the continuance of the crown in his family, for the success of his arms, and for the perpetuity of his kingdom. 14th. The Moderator declared that in the very first sessions of Synod the commissioner would see every member subscribe the Confession of Faith.

The usual letters of compliment passed between the Synod and the court. Mazarine's reply was brief and politic.

The Confession of Faith being carefully read, as was customary at the opening of the sessions, was signed by all the deputies, who, for themselves and their provinces, protested that they would persevere in the inviolable profession till death.

This Synod continued its sessions till the 10th of January, 1660, two calendar months and one day. A great amount of business of the ordinary kind accumulated in the course of fourteen years, was disposed of according to rule, and due record made. Were there no other record left of the doings of the National Synod, their habits of business and principles of legis-

lation might be gathered from this meeting ; there was some case illustrating the principles of discipline and government in all their forms and applications, except gross immoralities, to be found in the lengthened docket. Besides the common business, there was some of lasting importance.

The minutes of the Synods of Charenton and Alauçon, respecting the doctrines of Amyrant and Tertard, were reädopted. Gualtier was commended for his finished work on the Discipline of the Church ; and was encouraged to finish the one begun on the Harmony of the Articles of the Confession of Faith, Liturgy, and Church Discipline, with those of the Ancient Church, and especially with the decisions of the Gallican Church. The order of giving in the vote of Synod was fixed to be regularly—first, the Moderator shall first give his opinions on the matter in hand ; next, the scribe that is a Pastor, and then the scribe that is an Elder, and afterwards in order all the ministers and elders present ; second, after this the Moderator shall collect the votes and give his own last. An appointment for a general fast was made ; and steps were taken to promote the better observation of the Sabbath in places where it has been profaned.

The Synod reiterated its injunctions, made at the last meeting, to those entrusted by the Provincial Synods, with the responsibility of printing Bibles, Psalm-books, Catechisms, Confessions of Faith, Discipline and Liturgy, to use the greatest care to prevent any alterations by carelessness or design in any part

of those books; and that the new editions be exact copies of the standard works.

The condition of the four universities, Saumur, Montauban, Nismes and Die, was carefully reviewed and examined, and the morals and habits of the students carefully attended to, and such arrangements made as the circumstances required.

The injunctions for a strict observance of the Sabbath were of the most stringent kind and contrast with the examples around them, most favourably, the meaning of the Reformed in keeping the Sabbath day holy.

The Synod adjourned to meet again in three years at the will of his majesty. But according to the intimation of the Cardinal, the King never gave permission; and the Synod never again met. The temper of this last meeting was dignified, mild, and resolute. It was such as became the last sessions of the highest judicatory of the Reformed French Church, no mournings, no lamentations, no threatenings, no repinings, no pretensions to resignation, no giving up of rights and privileges, no compromises. The Confession of Faith and the Discipline, unaltered, a testimony against the errors of Popery, and a declaration of the truth in Christ, were re-affirmed and signed with solemn protestations. The universities carefully examined; the best measures the case admitted to preserve exact copies of the Bible, Psalm-books, Catechism, Confession, Discipline and Liturgy, were adopted, and the usual solemn fast appointed. The presiding officer, Daille, was the author of *The Right Use of the Fathers*. Among the members was Bochart, whose learned

folios, Hieroroicon, and Phaleg, and Canaan, enrich our libraries. Others were eminent as preachers or counsellors. The Synod having rendered unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's, parted without fear, having done a good work for the churches, and in their records, unintentionally raised to themselves a memorial of their loyalty to their earthly sovereign, and obedience to their heavenly King.

Cardinal Mazarine, having broken the visible bond of union of the Reformed Church, and as far as possible dissolved the smaller bonds that encircled provinces and neighbourhoods, and having left the church to be held together as it had been a century before, by a common faith, a common worship, a common discipline, a common catechism for their youth, a common confession of sound words and a common Bible with a common Psalm-book, having assisted to turn them from man to God, from earth and its treasures, which he had in abundance, to heaven; finished his life in a little more than a year, dying March 15th, 1661, at the age of 59. As an executioner of the Reformed Church, he was more gentle in manner than Richlieu, not less bitter in spirit, or less determined in action. Avarice was his ruling passion, and his accumulations are reported to have been at least 8,000,000 of pounds sterling. He left no work or design of national importance, and had kept his king, who was his word, in as much ignorance as possible on things most important for a king to know—the principles of truth and justice—and had taught him to govern by deception and force.

## CHAPTER X.

The Reformed Church of France, from the Death of Mazarine, March 9th, 1661, to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, October 18th, 1685.

THE morning after the death of Mazarine, the King assembled his council, and at once silenced their anxieties and expectations with a short speech: "I have called you together to say that, though hitherto I have been well satisfied that my government should be conducted by the late Cardinal, I intend henceforth to govern it in my own person. You will assist me with your advice when I demand it." The council was dismissed. Mazarine had educated him to be a despot. His contemporaries complained of the Cardinal that he had never taught the young King to govern himself and his kingdom by religious or moral principle, or motives of national policy and statesmanship. He had left him to grow up a handsome, fascinating prince, in a lascivious court. His intercourse with the assembled ladies polished his manners, and gave him that air and presence so charming to all that approached him. He knew how to allure and how to repel by his attitudes and countenance. His will and pleasure governed the court.

Mazarine followed the policy begun by Henry IV.

of enticing the noble and talented Huguenots to the court, and if possible to assuage their opposition to the religion of the court, by attentions and honors; improved by Richlieu, by breaking down all nobles of any religion who claimed, by inheritance or gift, any independence of the crown, and by destroying every vestige of freedom and independence in the Huguenot party, and at the same time alluring by all means men of learning and influence to become reconciled to the Church of Rome; and carried out by himself with all his arts and influence of position, by adding disabilities and dishonour and perplexities to all of every grade who maintained the doctrines of the Reformation.

The King was left in that state of mental education which best fitted him to consign the care of his conscience to his confessor and the officers of the Church of Rome. Despotism in the government of his kingdom, and submission to Rome in matters pertaining to salvation, were the great qualities of a king, according to the teachings of Mazarine. Louis never loved the Cardinal. All obligations which the King might have once felt for his vigorous and successful efforts in maintaining, through a long and exposed minority, his right to the crown, were as speedily and as completely forgotten as the oft acknowledged services of the Huguenots, who had acted in concert with the minister for the lawful King during his minority. Louis had never been taught gratitude to man or God. Born king, he was taught his importance to the welfare of the State. When Mazarine was dead he felt himself delivered from all obstructions to his will;



and, declaring he would govern according to his own wishes, he took the position which he maintained through life—“*I am the State.*”

To this conceded principle, to which all his intercourse with men tended, he proceeded now to add what Richlieu and Mazarine both coveted, “I am head of the Church in France.” He had his cardinals and bishops, who would gladly have relieved him of the labour of governing, but would have no more Richlieus or Mazarines. His kingdom, after a century of conflict, was united under one crown of unlimited authority, and he would not be reminded of ever having been weak by calling another master to his cabinet. What Henry VIII., of England, claimed, Louis XIV. asserted as his right—head of the Church in his kingdom. He was resolved that church of which he was head should be an unit. He could not be a Huguenot in truth and maintain his course of life. The doctrines of the Reformed condemned him; they gave him no hope in this world or the world to come, but upon entire reformation, and he would not reform. His confessor and the ecclesiastics pressed him to two things—either leave off his sins or do penance. He preferred the latter provided it did not involve the former, and the latter was accepted on a kingly style for himself and court. He did great things for the church of which he was head, and for the clergy who were his servants. Satisfied with this arrangement for himself and court, he acted on it throughout his long life, and as he approached his end he said to the cardinals—Bissey and Rohan, and his

confessor, Father Le Tellier,—“On you, as my spiritual adviser, I devolve all my responsibilities, as I have followed your guidance. You must answer to the Supreme Judge.”

Louis XIV. resolved there should be unity in the Church of France, and the church of his choice should embrace all France. It was his will. How could it be resisted. His means and efforts to bring the Reformed to coalesce with the Catholic Church, ending in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and dispersing in a short time half a million of Frenchmen to the different Protestant nations, in addition to the many thousands already forced to leave their native soil, are worthy of a condensed detail.

1st. The talents and treasures and beauty of France were at his control, and he used them with success. Where offers of court favour and emolument failed to attract the older Huguenots of wealth and standing, the children of the family were if possible allured to court. Young men were associated with beautiful and accomplished heiresses; and young ladies brought into society with the young nobility, all of whom understood well, that the way to the peculiar favour of the King was to secure the conversion to Rome of one at least of these. A young member of the court might be smitten with the personal excellence and wealth of a Huguenot heiress. He becomes passionately in love; but he is a Romanist; he cannot marry a heretic; if his lady love would only renounce her heresy, he would be blessed in her love. If her affections have been gained and her sense of religion not

strong, the steps were easy and rapid. To believe it made no difference what form of religion a man professed if he was sincere ; better to be a devotee of Rome than not religious ; to consider the question of conversion ; to hear arguments ; to read books ; to converse with a priest ; to attend mass ; to go to confessions ; to profess faith and be absolved.

Or if the young Huguenot became fascinated by the charms and arts of a young heiress of Rome, all things were hasting to the desired conclusion. But suddenly, as if just called to mind, the duties and obligations of a devotee of the blessed Virgin would awake the slumbering conscience of the lady love. And then arguments and persuasions and enticements, and accidental conversations with some learned confessor, and strong desires for the conversion of a soul from heresy to the true church, the impossibility of becoming a Huguenot, and the reference to the fact that able Reformers had admitted that a Romanist *might* be saved, while the advocates of Rome declared that a heretic *could not*, therefore it was safest to be in the Church of Rome, that the court with the King at the head was Romish, and the Huguenot was shut out of court employ and position in the army, the place for gentlemen. If a young man was not well grounded in his religious belief, there was a prospect he would be induced to abjure. In the letters and diaries of the day, references are made to this process of conversion. “The young Duke —— has been going every day since Ash-Wednesday to read with the heiress ——, and have discussions in her

parlour. It is confidently expected he will abjure. — is ambitious of making him a convert, and is very persuasive.” Sometimes a presiding genius of the court would assume the work of converting a heretic, and make use in connexion with arguments and raillery and inuendoes, of the name and prospects of some fair heiress to help on the abjuration of heresy. The smiles of the King accompanied and followed these assiduous labours.

2nd. Places of power and trust were suggested by some courtier as being evidently in the power of this or that young man, if there were any surety that he were of the Romish religion, or even if he thought lightly of the Reformed. Sometimes the abjuration preceded the honour, sometimes when a resolute subject was to be gained, the honour came first. And then would follow the intimation, “how agreeable it will be to his majesty to hear that you approve of the ritual of his national church; it would open the way for higher honours.” And this followed by some kind speech of his majesty in person, or the report of one as made by him, conveyed by some officious courtier, or lady of the Queen. The office of foreign minister, or commander of forces, of necessity, as was represented, called for a person who could represent his majesty in politics, and arms, and religion. Not that in cases of emergency an able minister or commander would be rejected for failing in the requisite of being a Romanist; but it would be spoken of as a great condescension in the King that he waived the matter of religion in that case.

3d. Literary men of all classes were invited to court and patronized by the King. Occasionally the patronage was ample, generally it was small and contingent. Occasional great gifts were the lure to all, and actually made to some few remarkable cases. Poems, treatises of literary merit, and volumes large and small, that extolled the King and his church, met with their reward. Able men were personally invited to court, and men of less or no real merit flocked there in hope of success of some sort. Men of great reputation were sure of a welcome, but more particularly if there were hopes of their conversion. Great offers were often made to Huguenot pastors to induce them to devote their abilities to propagating the court religion, under the appearance of a compliment coming from the King; that he had heard favourably about them, and would be glad to do them a favour and employ them. And then shutting up all avenues to advancement to those who remained firm in the Reformed doctrines and practice, the King frowned upon them as the enemies of his court and kingdom.

4th. Men of talent in the Romish Church were brought forward to display their talents in the pulpit, or to speak to the public through the press. The court preacher was lauded extravagantly. It was the fashion of the court to give him crowded audiences. The Lent sermons produced apparently great effects. The audiences wept and trembled under the appeals to penitence and confession and prayer. Pulpit oratory was in the highest demand. No pains were spared to obtain it at court. High ecclesiastical officers with large

incomes were the rewards. The greatest efforts were made to rival the Reformed in the number of the audiences, and in the power and effect of the sermons. The Reformed called for abjuration of sin, the Romish called for confession and penance. And both were answered by their audiences. Salvation was proclaimed. Salvation was sought for. Salvation was promised, in the one case, that he that confessed and forsook his sins should find mercy; in the other, confession and the rites of the church were to cover all transgressions by the intercession of the Virgin and countless saints, and the merits of the whole Church of God. In the one case, simple faith in Christ, he that believeth shall be saved; in the other case, the works of men were associated with the work of Christ and sometimes supplanted it entirely. In the reign of Louis XIV. pulpit eloquence on these two different principles was carried to the highest pitch. The palm of excellence has been given and will be given to one side or the other, to the Reformed, or the Romish, as one favours the leading characteristics of either church. That Bordalaue and Bossuet and Massilon should differ from Claude and Du Bosc and Abaddie, in style, manner and sentiment is readily accounted for, besides the physical difference of the men, from the different arguments they presented to the judgment, the different motives they presented to the affections and passions, all tending in the one case to the glorification of mother church, and in the other to the exaltation of the Son of God. And were these men and their compeers to come before the American

people to-day, the effects of their preaching would be as different as in the reign of Louis XIV., and men would admire the one or the other, according to their standard of oratory, and more particularly of Christian doctrine.

That all these measures were brought to bear upon the Reformed is a matter of record. And that there was success with the noble families is also true, and must be set down to the weakness of human nature. But that all these means continued for years on years, could have prevailed to change the mass of the Huguenots, the King did not believe, and he resorted to arbitrary power and to force. Assured of the loyalty of the Reformed, he feared no rebellion in favour of another branch of the royal line. Commanding the army and the resources of a great nation, he dreaded no uprisings of desperate men, goaded on by their miseries. His courtiers knew and humoured his desires. His agents and officers were chosen from his knowledge of their readiness to carry out his designs. The Reformers were to be annihilated. The expressions of his will were decisive.

1st. Immediately after the death of the cardinal in 1661, provincial commissioners, consisting of a Reformed and a member of the National Church, were sent to visit the provinces and decide, from testimony produced on the spot, upon the right of the Reformed to their various houses of worship. The work began with a show of equity. Soon the the testimony of the Huguenot commissioner in favour of a church was everywhere overborne by the testimony of the

Romanist commissioner. Under the pretence of law and right, chapel after chapel were demolished. "In a little time," says the author of the *Status Ecclesiæ*, "the Huguenots have lost three parts in four of all their churches." Quick, in his *Synodicon*, says that previous to 1673, a monk from Bearne boasted that out of one hundred and twenty-three churches in that province, resting on the most unquestionable legal titles, only twenty-three were spared. In 1674, out of sixty-one churches in Poitou, only one was uncondemned. In Guienne, eighty churches were reduced to three. In Gex, twenty-three to two. In Provence, sixteen to three. Of some districts it was said: "If there be churches left standing and not converted into ruinous heaps, they be such as are most inconveniently situated in marshes or low grounds which were often overflowed with water, or impassable in winter." To carry on this investigation, and determine the equity of their claims to their churches, Louis required the Reformed to bring forward the records of their consistories, containing registers of baptism, marriage and sepulture, together with their original titles to their houses. These documents were all retained, and the Reformed left without their legal evidence of property or legitimacy. After the temples were destroyed in 1685, many gentlemen lost the proofs of the nobility which could be found on the tombs. And in the pillage of their houses, the soldiers of Louvois destroyed their family papers. Thus the emigrants were deprived of evidence of their rank and property. Happily in the nations to which they



fled there were persons who were acquainted with the nobility of France.

2d. Numerous oppressive Edicts was issued, and severely executed. The Huguenot College in Montauban was suppressed, and its property given to the Jesuits. The Reformed were forbidden to sing psalms in the streets, or on public walks, or even within their own houses in tone to be heard by passengers; and in the public chapels it was to cease, when the procession of the Host passed by, even if the congregation were in the midst of the psalm, and not to be resumed while the procession was in hearing. The time of funerals was limited to certain hours, that deprived them of all publicity; and only a limited number of persons might attend. The Reformed ministers might not take the name of, "*Ministers of God's Word.*" A Huguenot at Caen threw over the bier of his beloved wife a white pall, embroidered with garlands of Rosemary, "for remembrance;" and placed branches of the same in the hands of four maidens as bearers. For this he was fined and pronounced refractory.

Against an Edict about to be issued in 1668, to close the chambers of the Edict of Paris and Rouen, courts which had been of great importance to the Reformed, the famous preacher, Du Bose, obtained leave of audience at the Louvre. His argument received the applause of the court for its ingenuity and eloquence. The King, delighted with the appearance and bearing of the man, and impressed with his speech, said, "He is the most eloquent man in my

kingdom." But in vain. The case was prejudged. The chambers were annulled by an Edict which affirmed strongly the royal intention to maintain the privileges of the Reformed, without let or hindrance, according to the Edict of Nantes.

Protestants professing popery, were released from all debts to their Protestant brethren, for the three years previous. And Protestant ministers forfeited their churches if they received any convert from popery. If a Papist united with a Reformed congregation, and said he was converted, the minister suffered the penalty of a proselyter. In 1679 the courts of justice for the Reformed in Thoulouse, Bordeaux, and Grenoble, were abolished, for the cause, that, "the parties were so quiet and regular, that no cases had been tried for many years," and therefore were not necessary.

The intermarrying of Protestants and Papists was forbidden. And the children of the Reformed, of the age of seven years, were permitted to choose which religion they would be of—the Romish or Reformed. If they preferred the Romish, no matter by what inducements, they might, if they chose, be taken from their parents to be instructed; and the parents were compelled to allow them a pension for their support, in some cases so large as to ruin the means of the family support.

In 1680 an Edict was issued, depriving the Reformed of all kinds of offices and employments, from the greatest to the least. They could not serve in the custom-houses, the guards, the treasury or the

post-office, or to be messengers, coachmen, or wagners, or any thing of the kind.

3d. He made use of duplicity.

In 1670 the King, in writing to his son, explains his own principles of action towards the Reformed: that they involved the most settled determination, and also the most consummate duplicity. He says: "I believe, my son, that the best method of reducing the Huguenots, of my kingdom, by slow degrees, is, in the first place, not to harrass them in the smallest degree, by any new enactment against them; to observe strictly all the privileges obtained for them from my predecessors; but to grant them no farther favours beyond these; and even of these, to restrain the execution, within the narrowest limits, prescribed by justice and comity. But as it regards favours depending upon myself alone, I resolved, and that resolution I have punctually observed, to grant them none whatsoever; and this from a spirit of lenity, rather than of rigour, so as to compel them, without any violence, to consider within themselves, whether it is for any good reason that they voluntarily deprive themselves of advantages which it is in their power to share with the remainder of my subjects. I also resolved to bring over, by means of recompenses, such as should show themselves docile; and to awaken, as far as possible, the zeal of the bishops, that they should labour to give them instruction, and to remove the scandals which at times divide and repel them from us." Having sworn to preserve the right of conscience granted by his predecessors, and

by himself also, for their loyalty to the Bourbon line, he tells his son he was resolved to make them commit the meanness of being bribed to act against that very conscience, and their oft repeated oaths.

Madame De Maintenon, his favourite mistress and reputed wife, brought up in the Reformed faith, and professing to be a Calvinist, till the King's favor converted her to his religion and his morals, in 1672, writes to her brother: "I have been informed of some complaints made of you which do you no honour. You maltreat the Huguenots; you take all means to find cause against them; you seek to create occasions. This is not the conduct of a person of quality. Pity those persons, who are unfortunate, rather than guilty. They still remain in error, which we once shared with them, and from which no violence would have induced us to depart. Henry IV. and other great princes have professed the same religion. Therefore, persecute them not. All men should be brought by gentleness and charity. Jesus Christ set us the example, to follow which is the intention of the King. It is your duty to keep the population under your rule in obedience; it is for the bishops and the parochial clergy to work conversions, by doctrine and example. Neither God nor the King have given you the care of souls. Sanctify your own, then, and be severe to yourself alone." Was she profoundly ignorant of the King's intentions, and of the Edicts already in execution against the Reformed? or did she suppose the veil cast over his conduct by the King could not be pierced by others?

A great number of the noble families of France, that, for more than a century, had been connected with the Reformed, had, by the persevering efforts of the cardinals and the present King, become reconciled to the National Church. But in country gentlemen of ancient family, in wealthy, enterprising merchants, in skilful, enterprising artisans, successful physicians, and professional men, and vine-dressers, and farmers, the ranks of the Reformed were strong. They formed much of that great middle class, the bone and sinew of a nation. Conscious of their inherent independence, that they were the support rather than the dependents of the throne, they held to their religion, in its doctrines and forms, through all the disabilities the ingenuity of persecution had invented. The King, unwearied in his efforts to free his kingdom of all those unreconciled to the National Church, adopted a new expedient.

4th. Bought conversions were attempted. In 1677 the King set apart a secret fund, the use of which was long kept a mystery. The projector is not known; the execution of it was entrusted to Pelisson, a convert from the Reformed faith. From records of the treasury, now laid open, the money was employed in obtaining conversions to Popery from the Reformed Church, or the families of members. Pelisson put money into the hands of bishops, who, in due time, returned him papers containing the names of persons who had abjured, and the price paid to each, with his receipt, to be laid before the King.

The gratuity was bestowed in a variety of ways, according to the disposition and condition of the parties, all having the same tendency to lead to reconciliation with the Romish church. Among the lower and the more ignorant classes of the Huguenots, and especially those least inclined to the pure life cultivated by the Reformed Church, the greatest number of converts were found. Some were plainly bargained with; others were taken by address, and found that their receipt for money contained words and conveyed a meaning they did not expect. But, in whatever way the King's gift was made, the recipient was reported to the King as a convert, and all means of persuasion and terror were used to keep the proselyte. From the records in the treasury, it appears that the price paid was, by the returns, on the average of six livres a head: and between seven and eight thousand were purchased for about two thousand crowns. The whole court expressed delight on the report that Pelisson was successful in winning the heretics to the Romish church. Madame De Maintenon, the reputed wife of the King, gave herself to the work as patroness and co-worker. Like Pelisson, she wished to have followers in her apostacy. To her brother she writes: "Madame De Aubigne, must surely soon convert some one of our young relations." To another person she wrote: "I am the only one who is now seen conducting some Huguenots to the true Church." To another she wrote: "Convert yourself, as so many others have done; convert yourself by the help of God alone; convert yourself, in a

word, in what manner you please ; but at all events, convert yourself."

This woman, by stealth, conveyed a young relation to the chapel of the court ; and finding her pleased with the King's Mass, persuaded her to promise to hear it every day. In a similar manner she prevailed at last on the two brothers of the young convert ; and at last, by perseverance, prevailed upon their father, the Marquis de Villette, to unite with the Church of the court, though he often said, "It would take him twenty years to believe in the real presence, and a hundred years to believe in the infallibility of the Pope." Thus, from the arts of the most intriguing woman of the court, who, by her wit and her compliances, could captivate the unscrupulous Louis, down to the gratuities and simple bribery of Pelisson, all arts were used, and with every class of persons, to induce the unwary and unsteady to abandon the faith and worship of the Reformed. The King had honours and offices of trust and emolument always before the eyes of men to allure by their splendour and their continual display ; the price, devotion to his majesty ; which meant, at last, agreement with him in religion. The bishops had church preferments for men of talents, and money for men of meanness and poverty ; the price, devotion to his majesty and his Church. The ladies of the court, with their flatteries and persuasions, could offer any bribe in the power of him who was head of Church and State, from the baton of a marshal to the hand of a fascinating heiress of

noble birth; the price, devotion to his majesty and to his Church.

This process swept multitudes from the extremes of society into the Romish church. The aspiring, the noble, and the gay went there; and those who, through ignorance, or meanness, or suffering, would sell themselves for a piece of bread, and quietness from persecution, followed them. But there was a boundary soon reached. And the King was eager for more converts, which no price could buy. The great mass of the Reformed, the small farmers, the merchants, and the artizans, were scarcely touched. The funds, which Pelisson received in regularly increasing abundance for some years, was used, as he said, in small sums, that he might be economical, and, in profusion, that he might spread it like dew upon the fields. All the arts and seductions of the court were exhausted; and the bone and sinew of the country was left untouched.

5th. Booted missionaries were the next resort.

Louvois, the King's Minister of War, here entered with zeal to employ a new power for the King. He had long sought the favour of Louis in the cabinet, by opposing Colbert, the Minister of Finance, in regard to the treatment of the Reformed. Colbert never failed to plead their cause, as a body of people most important to the King, and in possession of privileges not to be taken away without great harm to justice, and the prosperity of the kingdom. He employed individuals of them as the best officials in France, to manage the King's finances; and encour-



aged all to perfect their manufactories of rare and costly products, by which the revenue of France filled the treasury for the splendidly expensive Louis. Louvois flattered the King by encouraging his efforts to reduce the kingdom to an unit in religion as in politics. He had attached himself to the party of Madame De Montespan, the former mistress of the King, while in her glory. With her he became jealous of the increasing influence of her rival, Madame Maintenon, whose popularity with the King and court was greatly augmented by her zeal in assisting Pelisson in carrying out the enterprize of bribing the Reformed into the Church of the King. He became jealous of Pelisson also lest he should gain the ascendancy in the cabinet. He determined therefore, if possible, to surpass him in zeal and success in the work of conversion. He began in the year 1681, to quarter dragoons in villages where there were Huguenots. On the 18th of March he instructed, by letter, Marilloe, the intendant of the province of Poictou, whom, by former experience, he believed a fit instrument for the work, how to dispose of a regiment of dragoons he was about to send to the province. He assured him of the great satisfaction he had given the King by his zeal for the Romish religion in times past; and directs him to distribute the troopers, in quarters in the villages, according to his discretion, taking care always that the greatest number should be put upon the Reformed. The very poor were not to be exempted; nor widows, who had hitherto been free from such exactions. "I would

not," says he, "have you quarter them all upon the Reformed; but for instance, if ten privates out of the twenty-six, of which each troop of horse consists, should be the equitable share of the Huguenots, in any village, you may quarter twenty upon them." These private instructions were, on April 11th, followed by an ordinance from the War Department, granting two years' exemption from keeping dragoons to those who were recently converted to the King's faith. At once showing to the soldiery that the object of their quartering was to force conversions, and to the Huguenots that their relief was compliance with his majesty's will in matters of religion.

Quick, in his *Synodicon*, gives a condensed account of a dragonade, gathering his materials from authentic sources, the experience of living refugees in England, and the printed testimony of others. It is not probable that all these outrages took place in every village; but some, such as the plunderings and exactions, and insults, were common to all; and the others were put in force, according to the skill, and ingenuity, and cruelty of the dragoons and their officers. The invention of a new insult or suffering for the Huguenots made a man famous. When about to quarter the dragoons upon a town or village, or region of country, the intendant summoned the Reformed inhabitants, and assured them of his majesty's desire that they should be of his religion. If they plead the rights of conscience in objection to the King's wishes, they speedily found the dragoons coming to take possession of the gates and avenues and

public places. They are quartered out among the inhabitants, and are charged to let no persons escape from their houses, or carry away or conceal their goods. In some villages the Romish clergy followed the dragoons through the streets as they went to take possession of their quarters, crying, "Courage, gentlemen; it is the intention of the King that these dogs of Huguenots should be pillaged and sacked." Sometimes, as the soldiers entered the houses, they cried, "kill! kill!" to frighten the women and children. So long as the people could satisfy their rapacity in eating and drinking and revelling, they suffered no worse than pillage. A few days generally sufficed for consuming all the stores of food and wines on hand, and for plundering, under various pretexts, rings, jewelry, money, and whatever else was of special value in ornaments and dress. Often the heavier goods of a family were set up for sale to the highest bidder; and buyers were invited from a distance to get good bargains.

The soldiers declared that every thing was permitted them, except actual death; and their ingenuity was unbounded in the forms of torments. They hung up men and women by the hair, or by the feet, to the roofs of chambers and hooks in chimneys, where the custom was to have capacious fire-places, and smoked them with wisps of wet hay till near suffocation. If, upon being taken down, they refused to profess the King's faith, they hung them up again and continued the torment till the sufferer appeared sinking in death, or abjured. They threw

them on hot coals, and into fires kindled for the purpose. They put ropes under their arms and plunged them into deep wells, and drew them up, repeating the plunging and drawing up. They bound them, and with a funnel poured wine down their throats till reason and life were endangered; and continued these operations till the firmness of the sufferers gave way, or appearances of death alarmed the dragoons. They would strip them of clothing, stick pins into their flesh, cut them with knives, pull their noses and tear their flesh with hot pincers, till their cries wearied their tormentors. Sometimes they would keep them waking night and day, for a succession of days, by their shouts and outcries, and by throwing cold water in their faces, and by beating pans and kettles over their heads, till the poor sufferers lost their senses. Sometimes they would beat them and drag them to the Romish churches, and this forced attendance was reckoned as submission. They beat drums by the bedside of the sick, whether men or women, of whatever disease, without intermission for days. Women were insulted in every possible form. They plucked off the nails from the fingers and the toes; they burnt the feet; they blew up men and women with bellows to the utmost extent of the body, calling on them to profess the religion of the King. If any fled to the fields or woods, to escape this tyranny, they were hunted like wild beasts.

The success of Louvois in obtaining conversions exceeded his expectations. The report of the numbers of the heretics turned to Popery filled the King

and his court with joy. Louvois used for dragonades the troops raised pretendedly to repel a Spanish invasion. His orders to Boufflers are still in existence. "The King desires that they who will not adopt his religion should suffer the most extreme rigor, and that such of them as may have the stupid ambition of being last to yield, should be urged to the last extremities." These men fixed crosses to their musketoons and pushed them into the faces of the Reformed, and if they resented the treatment or showed any disrespect to the cross, they were cruelly treated.

On the 19th of May, about two months after the commencement of the dragonades, Madam Maintenon wrote to her brother: "I believe that, besides our relations, no Huguenots will remain in Poitou. It seems to me that all the people have become converts; soon it will be ridiculous to belong to that religion." The *Gazette of France* filled its columns with long lists of the converted. The oppressed Poitouans began to emigrate to foreign lands. Madam Maintenon hearing that they sold their lands at a low price, wrote again to her brother, how to use a perquisite of 118000 francs she had just procured for him by a fresh distribution of monopolies among the farmers general. She says: "But I pray you employ usefully the money you will receive. Lands in Poitou can be bought for nothing! The desolation of the Huguenots makes them still anxious to sell. You can easily establish yourself nobly in Poitou." In the meantime the gazettes of Amsterdam and Hague informed the world of the means used for these pub-

lished conversions, and a cry of sympathy and indignation went up from Holland, England and Germany. And on the 28th of July, about four months from the commencement of the horrible process, the parliament of England called on their king, Charles II., to sanction a bill giving extensive privileges to those French refugees who should demand a home in England. Louis saw his error. Louvois was ordered to repress the ardor of his officers; and Marillac was warned to abstain from threatening the Huguenots who refused abjuration, to avoid giving them cause of complaint, not to appear as overloading them, and to take care that the dragoons did not perpetrate any considerable disorder, so that the Huguenots might not say, that they were abandoned to the soldiery.

The example of England was followed by the king of Denmark and the burgomasters of Amsterdam; and the imitation of Merillac's tyranny being felt in the provinces of Aunis and Saintonge, the number of emigrants was constantly increasing till more than three thousand families had left the kingdom. The retreat of a large body of seafaring men, aroused the King, and an edict was set forth forbidding the emigration of mariners and manufacturers under penalty of the galleys for life. Any person that aided an emigration, was to be fined not less than three thousand livres, and in case of a second offence, be subject to corporeal punishment. Merillac was dismissed from his office, and Baille, a man reputed moderate, appointed his successor. In a short time these dragoon-

ings were renewed with greater rigor than ever, by the advice and counsel of the King

Louis could invent no new oppression for the Reformed. He had objected to the Inquisition of Spain, and its terrible offshoot in the Netherlands. He had exhausted the ingenuity of the Romish clergy, greedy of the blood and property of the Huguenots as a branch of the church and as a political party in France. The invention of his intriguing court was at an end. He had broken up the National Synod; he had brought the provincial synods completely under his surveillance, and made them the channel of information about all the Reformed ministers of France; he had made the consistories by his spies, in the name of deputies, reveal the condition of all the congregations in his kingdom. His police upon the church was complete. He had filled the mind and hearts of the nobles with the glory and honour and riches of France, lavished upon them at the simple price of making themselves agreeable to the handsomest, most affable sovereign in Europe. The splendor of his gifts blinded their eyes and turned away their hearts from contemplating the real price they paid in renouncing the religion their fathers had professed to their eternal honour. He had separated the nobility forever from the bone and sinew of France, the gentry, the merchants, the artisans, and the mountaineers. He had removed the Reformed from all places of power and trust and emolument, after the death of the great Colbert, his financier, second only to Sully, the minister of Henry IV., and turned from his treasury the

rich streams of income guided by the hands of the Reformed from every part of his dominions. He had taken the pensions from the retired brave soldiers of the Reformed, that bore the marks of suffering and the scars of battle in his service; he had shut up that little source of supply from the widows of men that had fought for their King. He had bribed their children to abandon their fathers' faith, and kiss the hand that had wronged their parents. He had gone to the manufactories, that were bringing wealth to the nation and abundance to his treasury, and insisted that the superintendents should be members of the Romish church, leaving, as a matter of grace, but a small comparative number under the supervision of the Reformed. He had counted up the apprentices, and decreed but a small number of the Huguenot faith should be permitted; the great majority should be of his own faith. He had gone into the profession of law and medicine, and had exercised there, with unsparing hand, his power to silence the bar, and palsy the healing art. No man might practice but by permission as of the King's religion, or by an act of mercy from the throne that stigmatized him as a suspicious person. He had forbidden men to buy and sell for gain, unless they said mass. He had intruded upon the province of woman—he had forbidden any woman setting up as seamstress, unless she took the sacrament in the Romish church. No one of the Huguenots could attend upon their friends in childbirth, without offending against the State, unless she had abjured the faith of her fathers. He had gone



to the families and demanded that the children of seven years of age should make choice of their religion, and should determine whether they would stay with their parents, or go elsewhere for instruction; and if they chose to leave their parents, he demanded an ample pension for their support. He had forbidden, on heavy penalties, all attempts at emigration from his kingdom. He had tried the influence of bribery in all its forms, by the hands of an apostate man, under the superintendence of an apostate woman, who claimed to be his wife. He had sent out his "booted missionaries," the dragoons, to carry to villages and to private houses all the terrors of the Spanish Inquisition, and all the sufferings short of actual death that man can inflict upon his fellow man. He had been flattered and delighted with the reports that came from his emissaries in every quarter of the multitudes of converts flocking to his church; and that hundreds and hundreds of the houses of worship had been torn down, as existing against the law and no longer necessary; and that for those who would travel far to join in Protestant worship and carry their children for baptism through all difficulties, there were spies in all churches to convict the minister of preaching to congregations other than his own, and bring him under the law. The work seemed complete. The navies of France had been successful under Du Quesne, the Huguenot, whom the Moslems called, "the old French captain who had wedded the sea and whom the angel of death had forgotten." Turrene, also an Huguenot, who had led the armies

of France to victory and glory, keeping silence on the subject of faith until the King had signed the edict of his own disgrace, and then at last, 1687, abjuring the faith of his fathers. France was at the height of her political glory and military fame. Literature had advanced till the King believed it would go no further except in his praise. Under the fostering hand of Colbert, the Huguenot manufactures had advanced beyond all precedent in Europe, and for delicacy in fabric and taste in design, far surpassed all nations, bringing vast sums of money to the manufacturing cities, that the financier could say, "that the fashions of France, in dress, were to her what the mines of Peru were to Spain." There were but two steps for the King, in his own estimation, to exalt him to the pinnacle of fame and the very summit of his wishes, the extinction of the Huguenots, and to be the acknowledged political head of Europe. The first was now at hand, the last was in prospect.

Many hands were employed in preparing an edict revoking the Edict of Nantes. Much time was consumed. Balthazar Phelypeaux, Marquis of Chateaufort, secretary of state, put in order the provisions of the edict. The Romish clergy, in their five yearly assembly of the Gallican Church, held in May 1685, inflamed the King's zeal and augmented his delusion. The bishop of Valence avowed that every rational person in the kingdom had of choice abandoned opposition to the established church; and the coadjutor of Rouen praised, in extravagant language, the path of flowers for reëntering the Romish Church. The clergy de-

clared they did not desire the suppression of the Edict of Nantes, it was a dead letter. Soon after this meeting, the Reformed were excluded from all trades connected with literature, that the circulation of their books of devotion and instruction might be suppressed. Huguenot families were forbidden to hold a member of the Romish church for a servant. Magistrates of the established church married to Huguenot wives were forbidden to act in ecclesiastical suits, lest their wives should influence their decisions. The Reformed worship was forbidden in all cities the residence of a bishop, lest he should be grieved by the collision of heresy. In the summer, the army sent into Bearn to watch the movements of the Spaniards, by its horrible dragooning forced the province of Bearn, the home of the Reformed doctrine from its birth in France; Bearn, the inherited dominions of Jeanne De Albert, the nursing mother of the Church; Bearn that had maintained its faith, though abandoned by its native and beloved king, Henry IV., Bearn was dragooned till the majority of the Huguenots "capitulated," and the triumph was celebrated by a religious procession and a grand mass at Paris. In July, the Marquis De Boufflers, commander of the army that had wrought this change, was ordered to dispose his forces in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux and Montauban, and "to take such measures with the Reformed, that in case his majesty should hereafter determine to prohibit all exercise of their religion within his kingdom, their numbers may be so far diminished as to preclude any apprehension from a rising." In August,

he was advised to allow facilities for the congregation of ministers ; and in September he was directed to use discretion in permitting a few of the country gentry to remain upon their estates, provided they were destitute of followers. The troops spread over Guienne, Languedoc, Angoumois, Saintonge, Poictou and the adjoining provinces. The Huguenots were assembled on the approach of these booted missionaries, and pressed to make a decision for or against the will of the King. The form of abjuration was slight, the ruin in the rear of the troopers appalling ; and crowds of the affrighted peasants became enrolled as converts. Death was preferable to the measure and form of sufferings inflicted on those whose conscience resisted the will of the King. The Duke De Noailles reported 240,000 Huguenots which he counted in Languedoc alone, converted to the true faith. If the King doubted the sincerity of these conversions, he was cheered with the hope that his successor would reap the harvest. "I am by no means sure," writes Madam De Maintenon, at this remarkable season, "that all these conversions are sincere ; but God employs innumerable means to win the heretics to Himself. Even if the fathers are hypocrites, at least the children will be Catholics, and outward union brings them somewhat more close to truth. They bear about with them the same mark with the faithful. Pray God to enlighten us all ; for the King has nothing more at heart."

6th. The King resolved to destroy the ancient writings of the Reformed that related to the ac-

tions of the Romish clergy. These were numerous. Some were expositions of errors in doctrine. Some were histories of the Reformation in the earlier stages. Some were biographical sketches of the martyrs. The books were of all sizes, from the pamphlet to the ponderous volume, and were fitted to please the taste and meet the condition of all classes of society, from the most laborious mountaineer to the deepest student, and the most refined taste. The Archbishop of Paris prepared a list containing the names of five hundred authors whose books were to be destroyed. The work was carried on by searching the houses of the Reformed for the obnoxious volumes, most particularly, first, the houses of pastors and elders, and then others that might be suspected of having books. The volumes went like the martyrs—to the flames.

The course of study in the Reformed schools was curtailed by authority. The Greek was first struck out, then the Hebrew, then Philosophy and Theology, and then the Universities were closed. The University of Sedan was interdicted in 1681, and its buildings given to the Jesuits. That of Montauban was first transferred to Pery Laurens, and then interdicted in 1685. That of Saumur, the most celebrated of all, was suppressed in the same year, on the pretext that its foundation was not authorized by letters patent. This destruction of books and universities was to lessen the superiority of the Reformed in literature and cultivated intellect by blotting out its evidences and means.

Louvois wrote to his father, the old Chancellor Tellier, early in September, 1685: "Sixty thousand conversions have been made in the district of Bordeaux, and twenty thousand in that of Montauban. The rapidity with which this goes on is such that there remains only ten thousand religionists in all the district of Bordeaux, where on the 15th of last month there were one hundred and fifty thousand." The Duke of Noailles announced that, "the most considerable men of Nismes apostatized in the Church, the day after my arrival. Then followed some diminution of zeal; but things were again put in good train by the billets I have given the houses of the most obstinate." He adds confidentially: "Two of these billets were of a hundred men each."

The best preachers of the Romish church to be found in France were sent to preach in the Protestant communities, under the influences of the dragonades, to persuade the people to hold to their abjuration. Madame De Sevigne about this time wrote to her cousin, the Count De Bussy: "Father Bourdalac is going, by order of the King, to preach at Montpellier, and in those provinces where so many people were converted without knowing why. Father Bourdalac will teach them, and make them good Roman Catholics. The dragoons have been, until now, very good missionaries. The preachers who will be sent presently will render the work perfect."

On the 18th of October, 1685, the King, assured by his confessor, Pere La Chaise, and by his confidential minister, Louvois, that he might re-unite every

heretic in his dominion to the apostolic Church, his own chosen Church, without shedding a single drop of blood, consented to promulgate the Edict, which was to fasten everlasting disgrace upon himself, and rob him of more than half a million of subjects, in addition to the number already sent into exile. He put his name, the great seal on green wax was affixed, on threads of red and green silk. Orders were given to register it and send it forth from Paris, on the 22d day of the month, to be circulated through the kingdom.

It begins by assuming that the Edict of Nantes, which Henry IV., in his preamble, declared to be "*a general, clear, plain, and absolute law,*" "*the principal basis and ground-work of their union, concord, tranquility and peace; and we do, purpose, resolve and promise to see that it be exactly observed. We have, by this perpetual and irrevocable Edict, said, declared, and ordained:* That the Edict thus spoken of by its author was merely a means designed by the author to bring back the Huguenots to the Church of Rome." It goes on to say: "Inasmuch as the far greater and better part of our subjects of the said pretended Reformed religion have embraced the Catholic faith, and inasmuch as hereby the execution of the Edict of Nantes, and whatsoever else hath been ordained in favour of the said pretended Reformed religion is become useless, we have judged that we could do nothing better than totally to revoke the said Edict of Nantes."

But he proceeds to call his own decree in the first section, "*perpetual and irrevocable;*" and says: "We

will, and it is our pleasure, that all the temples of those of the said religion, situated within our kingdom, countries, lands and lordships of our subjection, should be immediately abolished." In the second, he forbids the Reformed "to assemble themselves, for exercise of their said religion, in any place or private house, under any pretence whatever." In the third, he "forbids all Lords, of every degree, the exercise of their religion in their houses and manors." In the fourth, he commands all ministers, who will not embrace the Romish religion, "to depart out of the kingdom, and the lands of our dominion, within a fortnight after the publication of the Edict," and in the meantime not to exercise any function of religion, on pain of the galleys. The fifth promises to those ministers who conform, an increase of salary by one-third, and their widows one-half the stipend during widowhood. By the sixth, the ministers might become advocates on examination, on half the usual fees, and the three years study being dispensed with. The seventh forbid all private schools to the Reformed, "and generally all things whatsoever that may bear the sign of privilege or favour to that said religion." By the eighth, the children of the Reformed were to be baptized by the Romish clergy, and be brought up in the Romish religion. For failure in presenting their children for baptism, parents to be fined five hundred francs. The ninth permitted emigrants that return in four months, to take possession of their estates; and longer absence brought confiscation. The tenth forbid men, women and children, of the



Reformed, departing the kingdom, or transporting their goods or effects, on pain of the gallies for men, and “confiscation of bodies and goods for the women.” The eleventh requires the relapsed to be punished according to previous laws. The twelfth permits the Reformed to remain in the kingdom, “and continue their traffic, and enjoy their goods,” provided they do not engage in any kind of religious worship, according to the Reformed faith; and concludes by commanding all the officers, to whom it belongs, to have the Edict proclaimed, registered, and executed, “in every particular, without swerving, and that in no manner of wise they permit the least swerving from it.”

The Chancellor, the aged La Tellier, labouring under a disease that in a few days brought him to his grave, signed his name, and said: “Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace;” and laying down his pen, retired to his home, refusing to perform any other magisterial act.

The Romish clergy celebrated the day by public thanksgivings, and were eagerly joined by the people of Paris and other cities. The eloquent preacher, Bossuet, exclaimed, in his funeral oration on La Tellier, “Affected by so many miracles, let us give vent to our feelings on the piety of Louis. Let us lift up our cries of joy to heaven, and say to this new Constantine, this new Theodosius, this new Marcian, this new Charlemagne, what the six hundred and thirty fathers said, formerly in the council of Chalcedon, you have established the faith, you have exterminated

the heretics, a work worthy of your reign, and a proper characteristic of it. Through your exertion heresy exists no longer. God alone could perform this miracle. King of heaven, preserve the King of earth, is the prayer of the churches, is the prayer of the bishops.

Madame De Sevigne, in writing to her daughter, some days after the revocation, expresses the feelings of the ladies of the court: "You will have seen, no doubt, the Edict by which the King revokes that of Nantes. Nothing can be so fine as what it contains, and no King has ever done, or ever will do, any thing so memorable."

The Abbe Tallemand, speaking before the French Academy, in January, 1687, of the Temple of Charenton, said: "Happy ruins! which are the finest trophy France has ever seen. The triumphal arches and the statutes erected to the glory of the King, will raise him no higher than the overthrow, by his pious efforts, of this temple of heresy. That heresy which supposed itself invincible is entirely subverted."

Massilon also, in his funeral oration on Louis XIV., after years of reflection on the sufferings and wrongs of the Reformed, says: "Unto what point did he not carry his zeal for the Church, that virtue of sovereigns, who have only received the sword and the power that they may be the supporters of altars and the defenders of doctrine. Oh, specious reasons of state policy! in vain you opposed to Louis the timid views of human wisdom, the body of the monarchy enfeebled by the evasion of so many citizens; the

course of commerce slackened, either by the privation of their industry, or the furtive deportation of their wealth. Perils fortified his zeal. The work of God fears not the opposition of man. He believed even that he strengthened his own throne, by the overthrow of the throne of error. The profane temples are destroyed, the pulpits of sedition thrown down, the prophets of falsehood torn from their flocks. Heresy fell by the first blow Louis aimed at it, disappeared, and is reduced either to conceal itself in the darkness from which it emerged, or to cross the sea and to carry with it its false Gods, its wrath, and its bitterness into foreign lands."

The Jansenists declared by their organ, the great Arnault, "that means had been employed a little too strong, but by no means unjust."

At Rome, the joy was great. A *Te Deum* was sung in thanksgiving for the conversion of the Protestants. The Pope, Innocent XI., wrote to the King on the occasion and congratulated him on "that noble zeal, with which being ardently inflamed, you have wholly abrogated all those constitutions that were favourable to the heretics of your kingdom, and by wise decrees set forth, have excellently provided for the propagation of the orthodox belief." And also he congratulated him for that "accession of immortal commendations which you have added to all your great exploits by so illustrious an act of this kind. The Catholic Church shall most assuredly record in her sacred annals a work of such devotion towards her, and celebrate your name with never

dying praises. But above all you may most deservedly promise to yourself an ample retribution from the divine goodness for this most excellent undertaking. Given at Rome, the 13th of November, in the tenth year of our pontificate.”

Was this Pope ignorant of the laws of nature, of nations, and of God, or was he a fanatic? Was Louis a true devotee of that church of which this Pope was the acknowledged head, when in less than two years he publicly and intentionally insulted him in Rome by his ambassador, for asking of the King that which was both merciful and just, both for the Pope and the King? Or was he simply acting out the spirit of the emperor Charles V., that he meant to be Pope; if not of Rome, at least of France?

## CHAPTER XI.

The immediate effects of the repeal of the Edict of Nantes upon the Reformed, and their spirit on going into exile.

THE Edict of Repeal was registered on Monday, the 22d of October, 1685, at Paris. On the same day the work of destroying the houses of worship of the Reformed was commenced. The example was set at Charenton. The temple, erected by the celebrated architect, Debrosse, capable of holding fourteen thousand men, was the most spacious and beautiful house of worship owned by the Reformed. In anticipation of its destruction, the congregation crowded the spacious area, on Sabbath the 21st, for their last act of solemn worship. The Papists were in haste to begin the work of demolition. The strongly built walls wearied out the enthusiasm of the despoilers, and men were hired to complete the work. The oldest minister in Paris, the venerable Claude, was commanded to leave the city in twenty-four hours, and one of the King's footmen was appointed to conduct him immediately out of the kingdom. His colleagues were limited to forty-eight hours; and upon giving assurance of obedience to the order, Messieurs, Maynard, Allix, and Bertau were permitted to leave the kingdom unattended.

On the same day the Attorney General, with some other magistrates, sent for the heads of Reformed families, and declared to them "that it was the King's will and pleasure that they should change their religion; that they were no better than the rest of his subjects; and that if they would not do it willingly, his majesty was resolved to compel them to do it." By orders, under the privy seal, all the elders of the Consistory of Paris were banished, together with some of the congregations, of known resolution and tried constancy in their principles, and sent to places the most remote from all commerce and business.

The Secretary of State, dissatisfied with the slow progress of the work of abjuration, invited to his house about one hundred and eighty merchants and others, and closing the doors upon them, refused to let any depart till they had signed a paper of abjuration of the Reformed religion, with a declaration that they had done it voluntarily and without compulsion. If any remonstrated against this act, he replied, "they were called, not to dispute, but obey." After much delay the paper was signed and the company dismissed.

From these examples in the capital, the provinces understood the license they might use with the persons and property of the Huguenots.

The pastors of the Reformed were, in general, allowed fifteen days for their departure from the kingdom; but were forbidden to carry their movables, or dispose of their real estates. Their books and papers were retained, under pretense that they might be the

property of the consistories. The consistories could not have leave to meet and make the assurance of the property belonging to the pastors, and of that belonging to themselves; and the affirmation of a meeting held without leave was invalid. The refugee pastors were not permitted to take with them either father or mother, or brother or sister, or any relation, however infirm and unable to subsist by themselves. Their children, over seven years of age, were denied the privilege of accompanying their parents; and in some cases, those much younger, some hanging on their mothers' breasts, were retained. Little infants, whose mothers could not afford the natural nourishment, were deprived of the care of nurses, and mothers were severely tried by the struggles of maternal love conflicting between the presence, and the immediate comfort, of the child. If she carried it, the child would suffer and might die; if she left it, it was yielding it to enemies. But the pastors must make haste to fly; and if any Papist desired to retain the children of Huguenots, some pretext could be found for their forcible retention.

On some of the frontiers the fugitive ministers were detained on various pretexts; sometimes of proving that they were the very persons mentioned in their certificates; sometimes to give satisfaction whether or not there was any criminal process against them, or any information lodged; sometimes to prove that they were not carrying away the property of the churches or consistories. Being detained by these pretexts till the fifteen days allowed for their depar-

ture were expired, they were told they could not proceed on their emigration, and were subject to the galleys for being found in France. An enemy of a pastor had it in his power, by making some accusation, to detain him in the very sight of his place of refuge, and have him condemned to the galleys for not obeying the King's order to leave France in fifteen days, or save himself by abjuration. Very few of the ministers abjured; some few found their strength fail them in the hour of trial. The greater part succeeded in passing the borders of France, in the allotted time of fifteen days.

Many of the laymen entreated the court for permission to withdraw to some foreign land. Marshal De Schonberg got leave to retire to Portugal, and the Marquis De Ruvigny to England. The Admiral Duquesne, one of the creators of the French navy, was called before the King and urged to change his religion. The old hero, showing his grey hairs, said: "During sixty years I have rendered unto Cæsar the things which I owe to Cæsar; permit me now to render unto God the things which I owe to God." He was permitted, unmolested on account of his religion, to end his days in France. His sons were authorized to leave France, and their father made them swear never to bear arms against their country. The Princess of Tarentum, daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, with difficulty obtained leave to go to a foreign land. The Countess De Roye had permission to go to Denmark to join her husband, appointed General-in-Chief of the Danish armies. No other



exceptions were made to the Edicts, forbidding emigration, and requiring conversion to the Romish church.

Permission to emigrate to foreign lands was not granted to the elders, members of consistories, or the people at large of any class whatever. They were called upon to abjure their religion and attend the services of the National Church; and were under the teachings of the Romish clergy. To this demand there were different responses from the great mass of the Huguenots.

1st. Those in the mountainous and more inaccessible parts of France, like the Vaudois of old, resolved to hold to their faith, and stand on their defence. In their wild and retired fortresses, they resisted the unjust Edicts of the King. They fought for their religion and their homes, and drove back the forces that from time to time ventured to seek out their hiding places. They preserved the order of the Church; and kept up the succession of pastors, and, as far as possible, repressed the spirit of fanaticism, to which human nature is prone in times of great excitement and distress. Able commanders and powerful preachers arose as from the occasion. Assailed by treachery, false promises, breach of treaties, and alluring rewards for abjuration, the Reformed exhibited the strength human nature gathers in suffering for the right with a good conscience. When, after the passage of a century, and superstitious forms of worship had supplanted, in the National Church, the word of God, and faith that brings salvation had

died out for want of that food, on which alone it can live; and infidelity had beguiled the mind of France into disbelief of all revealed religion, and had begun under the auspices of the religion of nature to long for the blood of kings and princes, resolved “to strangle the last King with the bowels of the last priest;” and the fifth of the Bourbon line stood arraigned by a revolutionary assembly that would shed blood under the form of legal trial; then the voices that spoke for the King—and there were some that said that Louis XVI. was the lawful King of France, and his arraignment was treason; these voices came from the descendants of the Reformed. No suffering from the Bourbon Kings could induce them to take part with the infidels in shedding their blood. Strange people! They would not kill their King, whose oppressions had been untold and immeasurable. They dreaded the bloodshed of infidels more than the persecution of the Bourbons.

2d. There were many who, finding themselves reduced to the necessity of uniting with the National Church, or of being despoiled of property, and family, and home, and be sent to prison or the galleys; deprived of the exhortations and prayers and instruction of their pastors; pressed by all manner of arguments, and the examples of others who had abjured and had saved their property, at last yielded, and, as the people visited by the dragonades till nature was exhausted, took the oath of abjuration. How many cannot be known; but that there should be many is but a part of the history of human weakness.

3d. There were others who “faltered in a double sense,” who seemed to yield and cheerfully attend the National Church, sometimes without and sometimes with the entangling oath of abjuration. Sometimes living secretly or retired, and sometimes more openly, with a design secretly cherished and sometimes avowed to their friends in foreign lands, of escaping at some favourable time, when they had conveyed their property in some form beyond the kingdom. Of these some finally emigrated, others remained and became reconciled to the National Church. Some lost part of their families by this doubtful course; and others carried with them in their exile the evil habit of concealment and double-dealing on the subject of religion.

4th. The galleys became the home of many Huguenots.

The larger part of the villages and open country of France made an effort to follow their pastors into exile. By edict of the King, repeated with stringent additions, emigration was forbidden. Severe penalties were attached to the attempt to leave France. The officers of the customs were forbidden, under severe penalties, to suffer any goods, movables, merchandize, or effects of the Huguenots to be taken out of the kingdom. In a little time all the prisons were filled with men and women accused of attempts at emigration, or of conveying their property out of the country. The sufferings of the prisoners were great, from the barbarities of the confinement, from hunger, thirst, chains, separation from friends, and the pres-

ence of disagreeable persons, and real criminals of great vileness. A lady of eminence, after her estate was seized, was thrust into confinement, and accused of murdering five of her children whom she had concealed away from the search of the Papists. Her two youngest children, one of five years and the other of two, were taken from her and put in a nunnery. Both were kept without food and whipped. The one of five years, not eating or drinking for forty-eight hours and being cruelly scourged, she resolutely refused to kiss the crucifix or bow to the Host. They were finally returned to their mother, and one in a few hours died in her arms. Besides imprisonment, the penalties of the galleys and death were attached to the edicts. If any minister returned to France except by invitation or permission of the King, he was exposed to suffer death. Those who sheltered ministers that remained in France, and those who aided their unpermitted return were condemned to the galleys. Those who were arrested in their flight from any part of France to a foreign country were to be sent to the galleys. In the month of June 1686, there could be counted in the galleys at Marseilles alone, more than six hundred Huguenots condemned for refusing to abjure and attempting to escape to a foreign country. At Toulon, about as many more were in confinement.

At that time the discipline of the galleys was exceeding severe. Admiral Baudin says, that at that time the galley-slaves were chained, two and two, upon the benches of the galleys, and were there employed in plying the long and heavy oars. On the keel of each

galley, in the space between the benches of the rowers, ran a gallery from end to end of the ship, called the 'coursine,' on which continually promenaded overseers, known by the name of 'comes,' each one armed with a thong from a bull's carcass, with which he lashed the shoulders of the wretches, who, in his opinion, did not row with sufficient strength. The galley-slaves passed their lives upon these benches. They ate and slept there, without being able to change their position more than the length of their chains permitted. They had no other shelter from the rain, the heat of the sun, or the chilling air of the night, than a cloth called 'Traud,' which was extended above their benches when the galley was not under way, and the wind was not too violent."

Among the galley-slaves at Marseilles, was David De Caumont, of the illustrious house of Caumont De Forres. He was seventy-five years old when he was sent to that miserable confinement. With him was Louis De Marolles, formerly King's councillor. One of the aggravations of his crime was that he had resisted the earnest solicitations of Bossuet to become a Romanist. He was taken from Paris, with a gang of condemned persons, all of whom were fastened by a chain of sufficient length to permit them to walk after each other in a line. In a letter sent to his wife, we find him saying: "I live at present entirely alone. Bread and meat are furnished me from without, averaging nine pence a day. Wine is provided me in the galleys, on giving for it the King's allowance of bread. Every one on board the galley treats me civilly,

because the officers visit me. I am causing a mattress to be made for myself to-day ; I will buy sheets, and shall do my best to make myself comfortable. You will say, perhaps, I am a bad manager ; but it was enough to be obliged to lie upon the hard boards from last Tuesday until this hour. If you could see me in my beautiful convicts' clothes, you would be charmed. I have a beautiful red undershirt made like the frocks of the Ardennes carters. It is put on like a shirt, because it is open only in front. I have also a handsome red cap, two pairs of breeches, two shirts made of linen thread as large as my finger, and cloth stockings. The clothes I wore when at liberty are not lost ; and should it please the King to grant me grace, I will resume them. The chain which I bear at my feet, although it weighs but three pounds, incommoded me much more in the beginning than that which you saw around my neck at La Fournelle."

The hour of grace from the King never came to this poor sufferer. He died in the convicts' hospital at Marseilles, in the year 1692, and was buried in the Turkish cemetery, the usual burying place of the Huguenots who died in the galleys, maintaining the religious belief for which they were imprisoned.

It was with the greatest difficulty, after repeated efforts of intercession, any one could be released from the galleys. In the general, efforts were not only ineffectual, but exposed the sufferer to greater indignities. As an act of grace to some court favourite, occasionally a convict was released. A murderer

might more readily be pardoned than a Reformed condemned for his faith.

Multitudes emigrated. Guards were set at all supposed avenues of escape. The greatest vigilance was used to discover any preparations for emigration. Informers were well rewarded for any discovery, even when made by means of the basest treachery. The greatest skill and address and perseverance were exhibited, sometimes in sad, and sometimes in ludicrous forms, by the Huguenots to escape, and by their enemies to detect and detain them. They set out on their journey to the borders by night or by day, as was most likely to be unsuspected, and travelled by by-paths or open roads, or through desolate places, under the appearance of pilgrims to the holy places, or as couriers from one part of the kingdom to another. Sometimes they might be seen moving like a company of sportsmen with their guns upon their shoulders. Others went as peasants driving cattle, or as porters, rolling their carts before them, as if loaded with merchandise. Some moved on as footmen, in the livery of some rich lord; others as soldiers returning to garrison—all taking care to avoid going in a crowd. Those who could afford to hire guides, paid as high as from 1000 to 6000 francs for assistance across the borders. Some travelled by night and concealed themselves by day in the forests and caverns, and in barns covered with straw and hay. Girls and young women blackened their faces with earths, or dyes, to appear as the lowest menials; and sometimes dressed as servants, followed, on foot, a

guide on horseback, who appeared as their master. Families were divided in the journey, and were separated for months and even years.

Those who lived near sea-ports, or along the shores of the ocean, hastened to make their escape on board of Dutch, or English, or Huguenot vessels. The masters would receive them on board at night, conceal them in bales of merchandise, or in heaps of coals, or in empty casks, placed with the full ones, holes being made for breathing and receiving some small refreshments; or crowd them into secret hiding places in the hold; and when out of the harbours and the scrutiny of the guards, release them from their confinement. The fear of discovery and consequent confinement in the galleys, made all these sufferings tolerable. Old men, feeble women accustomed to delicate living, and children, rivalled each other in patient endurance. Sometimes they attempted, in open boats, sea voyages, which in other circumstances would have made them shudder. Count De Marante, a noble of Normandy, crossed the British Channel in mid winter in a boat of seven tons, taking with him forty persons, some of whom were women in delicate health. Overtaken by a storm, he was kept out at sea without provision, his wife and the women and children quenching their thirst with melted snow, their only nourishment, till, half dead, they reached the English shore.

The King and his court were in earnest in the work of converting or destroying his Huguenot subjects. As far as he had faith in the Church of his choice,



his salvation depended on it. For his sins he must do penance; and he would repeat his sins, and consequently needed repeated penance. The conversion of his kingdom, though at a loss of men and money, and contrary to all mercy and justice, was a penance for his soul. He threatened the Swiss cantons with vengeance if they succoured the fugitives from France. And yet as the converging streams of refugees centered on Geneva, she exerted herself to supply the wants of the thousands that came to her gates. Under the repeated demands of the King, she was compelled to ask them to move on to Holland and Germany, and gave secretly what aid was in her power.

Had all the officers, set to guard the coast and the borders, been as vehement in their zeal as the King and his court, it might have been worse with the Huguenots. By the inattention of some, and the kind feelings of others, multitudes escaped. In some cases gifts of valuable goods left in their hands, or on the wayside, blinded the eyes of the guards, especially in the night, and multitudes that might have been arrested escaped.

In various ways, involving dangers, romantic efforts and exposures, and remarkable endurance of sufferings, great numbers left their beloved France and became exiles for the gospel's sake. Jurieu, himself a sufferer, says, in a pastoral sent back to those remaining in France, that in about two years two hundred thousand Huguenots had left their homes for foreign kingdoms, each carrying with him, on an average, 200 crowns. In 1688 one of the officials

of government deplored the departure of one hundred thousand men, of 60,000,000 of money, the ruin of commerce, the increase of the fleets of the enemy by nine thousand of the best sailors in the kingdom; and their armies by six hundred officers and twelve thousand veteran soldiers. Foreign computations number up vastly more emigrants of every class in these two years. The work of emigration continued for some years; the scattered members of families reassembled in foreign lands. Others departed as soon as they negotiated the sale of their property. Offered at a great bargain, the sale of the property would be concealed by those who hoped to be the gainers. And the plundered joined the band of exiles. Before the close of the century, it appears, by computations founded on public record and private data, that about *half a million of the Reformed*, all loyal subjects, left the dominion of Louis XIV., carrying with them more than 100,000,000 of ready money.

The spirit of the exiled Huguenots was as peculiar as the circumstances of their departure.

1st. They carried with them an ardent and abiding love of France; a preference for France above all other lands. They left her hills and vales and towns and villages with deep sorrow. With sighs and tears they bid farewell to their native land as it faded from their eyes. The homes they were forced to leave were always beautiful to the imagination of their memory. The hope that the King would open a way for their return to their beloved land never left them till death. The climate of France was softer and

more congenial than that of the more northern countries of Europe that opened their doors for the fugitives. Their trade and the exercise of their arts were more pleasant and profitable in France; and nothing but the severity of Louis XIV. would have made them leave the land of their birth. No visions of extended fields, or gains in merchandise, enticed them away; they were driven by certain prospects of degradation and death. The King knew their strong love for France, and, in prosecuting his own purposes, drove his subjects to desperation. The Huguenots loved their native language, the language of their fathers, the language of refinement, and power and literature beyond the rest of Europe; the language of their prayers, their songs of praise, and of their religion. They never ceased its use till all hope of distinct nationality was gone. Even in South Carolina, presenting so many attractions to the exiles, the thought of laying aside their language never seemed to have occurred to them, till all nationality was cut off by the stern refusal of their King to permit them to colonize in Louisiana. Then they amalgamated with the English colony, and bid farewell to France and their native language.

2d. They carried with them, as a fixed principle, the supremacy of constitutional law. In the progress of the French monarchy, all classes had felt the necessity of well-defined, abiding law; written law, constitutional law, acknowledged law; law extending its influence over the extremes of society, the King and the beggar; law under which the artisan might toil,

and enjoy the fruit of his labour; law under which the fields and vineyards might be cultivated, and bless the hands that laboured, and feed the kingdom; law under which a father might sleep in his dwelling, a palace, a chateau, or a cottage, and his family repose around him in safety; law under which a man might live for his country, fight for his country, and die for his country; believing his country and its laws would stand for interminable ages. The laws of France were severe upon the Huguenots, yet granted them protection in the exercise of their conscience. These rights were very circumscribed, yet defined and protected. The imperfection was borne for the limited blessings of protection. The last constitutional law put down by Louis, was the Edict protecting the Huguenots in their rights of religion and conscience. Then they fled from France. They went seeking for a home and the fellowship of churches, where these rights might be defended by constitutional law and the practice of the lawyers and courts of justice. They expected, they desired the government of law. They would not live where they could not enjoy it; and for its enjoyment they endured exile in all its hard forms. Wherever they took their abode, they obeyed the laws of the land. If any laws were too hard for them, they changed their place of abode.

3d. They carried with them a strong attachment to the house of Bourbon. Believing, according to the established order in France, that the house of Bourbon held the true line of inheritance after the extinction of the house of Valois, they never swerved

from their loyalty, or ceased from their efforts, till Henry IV., the first of the Bourbon line, was seated upon the throne. Under his edict, the Edict of Nantes, pronounced perpetual, they enjoyed with limitations, the rights of conscience, and flourished. And never, till Louis XIV. revoked the Edict of Nantes, could they believe the heart of the King was against them ; even then, multitudes attributed their troubles to the King's advisers at court. They held Richlieu and Mazarine accountable for their troubles, and associated with them the reputed wife of the King, Madam Maintenon, and some of the lords at court. When the leaders in and around Rochelle proposed to unite the whole Huguenot body in a revolt, and to erect a separate government like the Dutch provinces, the great mass of the Reformed could not be persuaded to unite in the design. They had two strong reasons for opposing the effort :

1st. The Huguenots were too much scattered in France to form a government separate from the rest of France ; and,

2nd. There was no line of kings they preferred to the Bourbon, or from whom they could expect more favour.

The wiser leaders believed their refuge under God was in the crown worn by a Bourbon ; and the mass of the people agreed with them. They believed the crown had been badly advised, and sought to have the advisers changed. When forced to leave France, they desired the continuance of the Bourbon as the legitimate line, under a change of dispensation. When-

ever and wherever the Huguenots joined the armies raised in Europe against France, it was to resist the further extension of that severe dispensation they wished changed, a dispensation that had driven them from their homes, and was by the armies of Louis to be extended in Europe. They desired the destruction neither of France or its King. Evidence that the rights of conscience should be restored to them and maintained by the King and court would have drawn back to France the mass of the exiles to succour and defend their King. In self-defence, they fought against those who had done an injury to France, to their King, and to the best interests of mankind. They did not then seek a revolution in the governing powers, nor did they demand of Louis XVI. any thing beyond the restoration of their rights, and protection in their enjoyment. These things Louis XVI. promised ; but the phrenzy of the Revolutionists unbridled in the absence of the Huguenot population scattered in exile, swept away the King and court and nobles and National Church into one great sea of blood.

4th. The Huguenots carried with them well defined views of the rights of conscience. William of Orange is honoured in history for publishing and defending the right of men to freedom of conscience. He was, however, not the first to bring to light that lost truth. The great councillor Le Hospital had proclaimed it in the court of France before him, and he seems to have embraced it as a part of the principles of the Huguenots. They believed that conscience ought to follow the revealed will of God ; that conscience was not a

law unto itself, and could never be ; that God was its Lord and had revealed truth proper and sufficient for its guide ; that to enquire what conscience should approve, was to enquire what God had revealed ; and what God had revealed was to be determined by the words and laws of the language God had chosen as the medium of His conversation with the prophets, and of His revelations to the family of man ; and for this determination two things were required : 1st. A knowledge of the structure and use of language, and, 2nd. A willingness to be taught of God as the great Author of morals and religion.

No fundamental law of conscience was left to traditions or to the decisions of religious councils or political governments. The Huguenots always asked to be tried by the word of God, and if their principles were not found there, they were to be cast out ; if conscience did not act according to God's word, it was to be reproved and instructed. They believed that in all important matters, God had expressed His will plainly. Some where in His word, perhaps in many places, they expected to find the divine pleasure expressed with clearness in regard to all moral and spiritual things ; and that by some precept or example of things approved and things forbidden, the line of duty could be found. They thought that agreement in the interpretation of Scripture as it is, and not as it might be, is necessary to church-fellowship ; and this interpretation to be according to the known and received principles of language. The appeal on

right and wrong in action and in principle, is not to inward light, or to man's conscience for decision ; but conscience and all the powers of man's soul are referred to God's word as the rule, and then the appeal is made to judgment and feeling and conscience for action. The purity of the church is in its agreement with the word of God. By the word of God, the ministration of the word and the direction of the general affairs of the church are committed to persons chosen for the purpose, whose judgment is to decide questions of morality and religion that arise between man and man. The officers of the church may upon reflection reverse or alter their own decisions, in regard to what is in agreement with the word of God, but never as correcting or supplementing revelation.

5th. They held it as an undeniable truth that all men had rights ; and that the sum and measure of these rights varied. Some rights, as life and limbs, were common to all. And no right could be taken till it was evident that the public good demanded it ; to that, all private right gave way. The taking away any right without consent, or law, or remuneration, was tyranny, to be resisted till justice be done. The King had many and great and peculiar rights ; the peasant some smaller but very precious rights and privileges. The peasant in taking from or withholding the rights of the King was guilty of treason in some of its degrees ; and the King in withholding or taking away the rights of the weakest member of his kingdom, was guilty of tyranny. They did not believe that all men were equal in mind, body, or estate ;



or that all men were born equally free ; but that some of the essentials of freedom belong to all, and that in multitudes of cases the freedom of all is circumscribed. The degrees of tyranny are many ; and the court of France had ascended very high in the scale, before they felt it was time to flee for their lives and honor, and that further endurance was first dishonour and then death. His right to their particular service was outweighed by the dishonour and pillage and death he had thrown upon them. Their ability to serve in honour was taken away by the King ; and with it went their obligations ; and they fled to foreign lands, loving France, and recognizing the Bourbon as the only constitutional King of France.

6th. They carried with them a firm belief of that system of doctrine sometimes called Augustinian, from its great expositor Augustine ; sometimes Calvinism, from their countryman, its interpreter, John Calvin ; and sometimes Predestinarian, in distinction from all systems not recognizing the will of God as the great principle in the divine government ; sometimes doctrines of grace, to distinguish them from all reliance upon the works of man, in any form, for justification unto life ; sometimes the doctrines of Protestants, or of the Reformation, as distinct from all the peculiarities of Romanism. This system had been stated and explained and defended by the ministers of the Reformed in France, and was the life of the religion of the Huguenots. The doctrines of grace sustained them in the sufferings and wanderings of their exile. They trusted in the Almighty

power, the love, mercy, and gracious government of God, and in the advocacy and atonement and righteousness of Jesus Christ, with the gracious aid and presence of the Holy Ghost; and went forth, not knowing whither they went. And they were led wisely and well.

7th. Of the government and worship of their Church, they left behind their national and provincial Synods; but carried with them their pastors and elders and deacons, with their consistories and classes, and their peculiar forms of worship by which they had been distinguished before the separation from the National Church, and the formation of the Reformed French. The forms of worship and the creed were first reformed; and then the church gathered, and the Form of Government introduced, under which the Huguenots lived in France, and which they carried into their exile. Purely Presbyterian in their Church Government, and their forms of worship and discipline, the Reformed French had ever been prominent in expressing their desires, that all Protestant churches should be bound together in bonds of closest union. By positive orders of their sovereign they ceased from public expressions of these desires. But the time came that they must go forth and make trial of their own spirit of forbearance and love, and test the principles and practice of their brethren of other nations; and learn from trial whether "in essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, and in all things charity," was laid a foundation broad enough to embrace the Christian world. The French intellect and the

French heart in the mild climate, but under the despotic government of France, had declared it a great truth of revelation, that the unity of the spirit might be preserved in the bonds of peace; the trial was now what would be their decision in the colder climate of the northern powers.

8th. They carried with them their love of literature and their manner of preaching the gospel. That there was power in the Huguenot pen and in their pulpit is most clear, from two considerations: 1st. The persevering efforts of the King, Louis XIV., to eradicate their literature and to destroy their pulpit. The King, in his desire to reduce the church to unity, as he had the State of France, and to have the unity of both in himself, had exerted all his concentrated power under the suggestions of his ministers and the ladies of the court. He had encouraged literature, favourable to the Romish church, in every department—poetry, theology, science, history and politics. Whoever wrote well was rewarded in a substantial manner. Controversial works, deprecating the Reformed faith, or people, in any form the ingenuity of man could desire, were praised and rewarded. Unwilling to trust to the merits of his literature for success against the Huguenots, he commanded their literature to be destroyed. An edict was passed in the year ——— to insure the extirpation of all traces of the efforts of their pens in favour of the Reform and against the Romish church. A list was made out of books to be destroyed, amounting to five hundred. The books were, as far as practicable, gathered and burned.

And by the Revocation, all the Huguenot ministers were commanded to leave the country within fifteen days, or change their religion. The greatest luminaries of the Romish church had been employed to preach against the Reformed. And all acts of authority were used against them, and every motive of selfish interest brought to influence them to abandon the Reform. And yet the King was not prepared to rest the controversy there. He was not sure of victory till he had banished the ministers and shut up the pulpits in France. The King's acts expressed his sense of the power of the literature and preaching of the Reformed, that they had no superiors in France.

2d. The continual care exercised by the Reformed Church throughout her judicatories to improve the literature and the pulpit would naturally produce excellence. The National Synod, in all its meetings, showed its anxiety on these matters, condemning hasty productions and unsound books; commending those that were well done, requiring that all manuscripts should undergo an examination before publication; and calling on men of acquirements and talents to prepare books on given subjects on which they might be expected to excel. From the first to the last of the existence of the National Synod, special attention was given to the education of youth generally, and especially for the ministry, providing universities, colleges, and schools of lesser grade, at which they might be taught, and giving encouragement to excellence. Ministers were discouraged from following any avocation in connexion with the minis-

try; teaching youth appears to be the only exception. Their training fitted them for their arduous labours; and their labours forced them to exert themselves to the utmost.

The manner of their preaching came under the constant supervision of the judicatories. The Bible being their text-book, and containing all the truth necessary for man to know for his greatest good, the ministry were expected to explain and enforce it on men's consciences and hearts. By the power of its truth they expected to gain converts and build up believers in the life of godliness and the comfort of a good hope through grace. The ministers in repute were, 1st. Earnest preachers—earnest in every respect—in matter, and turn of thought, and in feeling, and in delivery of their discourses. The attention of men was to be arrested, and obedience to the truth obtained, and that against the greatest oppositions. It was often an impassioned earnestness. It seemed to opposers to be fierce—they wished to call it malevolent.

2d. Simplicity was encouraged, in the manner of unfolding a subject, and in the arguments and illustrations used, and in the language, that the subject might be understood by old and young, the learned and unlearned. The subject being some of the great truths of revelation which God wishes man to understand and feel, not as the consequence of a long train of argument, however strong or clear, but as things He has revealed for salvation, and to be received on His divine authority, the ministry were expected to

explain, not prove, the word of God, and to enforce it by considerations drawn from the same divine source. The ministers and candidates were repeatedly enjoined to avoid "curious questions and intricate discussions" in their public discourses, and to employ their time and talents, and the time of the people, in setting forth some of the great truths of salvation brought forth from the treasury of the Lord.

3d. Tenderness in feeling and words and manner was expected from a minister of God, whose great business was to set forth God's purity and exceeding kindness, flowing forth in such a channel as the blessed Son of God. The kind and tender feelings of men were addressed through hope and fear by divine truth, rather than the strong passions and appetites, to give, if possible, the gentler powers of men's hearts, by the grace of God, the dominion over the fierce and clamorous, and to turn the lion into the lamb, and bring men, rebellious as the lunatic among the tombs, to sit, clothed and in their right minds, at the feet of Jesus.

With a proper education, and these qualities, a Christian youth was admitted with hope to the ministry, even if his natural powers of mind were not above the medium class of men, the church relying more on the piety of the ministry than on the talents of the ministry.

When God had given powers of mind of a high order, or endowed the soul with the creative strength of imagination, and adorned the minister with an imposing form and winning address, or a voice of

sweetness or of power, then the church expected that all these gifts should be employed to win the attention of men to the practice of godliness. All could be earnest, and intelligible, and tender, in explaining and enforcing the word of God, and leading men to purity and love. In the weakest hands the things of Christ's kingdom have a pathos that reaches the heart; and from the lips of the highly endowed flow words of love and power that are as resistless in winning the attention of an audience to hear the gospel they do not love, among a rude people, as it was in the days of Louis XIV. in France.

The church judicatories had from the earliest times insisted that the ministry should not introduce political discussions into the pulpit; and that they should not be leaders in political assemblies; they ever disapproved of their being members of political bodies. The work of the ministry was enough for them.

## CHAPTER XII.

The immediate effects of the repeal of the Edict of Nantes on the prosperity of France.

WHILE the wail of the departing Huguenot, unobserved by man, ascended to that ear which is always open to the cry of His distressed people, the King and his court, the officers of his church, the monks and nuns, and the mass of common people were rejoicing over the deeds done and the prospects before them. Houses and lands were abandoned, and to be purchased at a cheap rate, or taken as rewards for severity against the owners ; no opposition to processions and church rites, or holy days ; no further cry of anti-Christ to vex the King's ears ; and besides the wages of the dragoons, some silver streams from the plunder of the Huguenots found their way into the King's treasury. In the excitement of domestic triumph over enemies that had contended bravely for more than a century and a half, and the stirring events of foreign wars, none had considered the wasting influence of the persecution and exile of the Huguenots. It had not been duly considered that from the taking of Rochelle in 1629, emigration from France had gone in great waves and little ripples, adding from time to time to the great sum total, till the last fatal edict had



precipitated half a million more of Frenchmen upon the Protestant nations of Europe. They had not observed that the different emigrations had carried away from the national wealth of France enough to enrich the Protestant world : that in preparations for the expected edict of repeal, millions of the property of the Huguenots had been left in foreign nations ; that myriads of men and women had been making preparation for exile, and had departed like birds in the night to distant lands, as the evil came ; that the visible emigration of the poorer classes did not compare with the more secret departure of the more wealthy ; and that the forsaken houses, and the vacant factories, and idle mills, and deserted workshops, told of departed wealth and of coming trouble.

Events in a nation's history move slower than in the life of individuals, but surely in time reveal their nature and their influences. The revenues of the kingdom began to fall short of the vast expenditures. The King's gifts were not in the least circumscribed ; and the pleasures of the court and the expenses of his foreign wars rolled up from year to year a formidable amount to be provided for by his treasury. The intendants of the provinces, in the reports they were called to make of the resources of their several departments, and of the revenues resulting, were compelled to admit a great falling off of the King's usual income in those provinces which had been the residence of the Huguenots, and the scene of their industry. From reports in the year 1698, made by order of the King, compiled by men whose interest it was

to present to their sovereign the most favourable condition of the finances, preserved in the archives of France, and by royal authority laid open to inspection, it appears that in a few years the loss in the manufacturing interests had been immense, and in the mercantile interests no less.

1st. The loss in the manufacturing interests by the exile of the Huguenots. There were in and around Casteljaloux, in the district of Bordeaux, a great number of Huguenots engaged in making fine paper. The greater part of these fled, carrying their property and art with them. The rich manufacturers of Ambert, in Auvergne, left the kingdom with a great part of their experienced workmen, and threw most of the paper mills out of employ, and nearly ruined the trade. The paper manufactories of Angoumois were reduced from sixty to sixteen working mills, the workmen following their employers to foreign lands, the first going for interest, and the last for religion.

Of the four hundred tanneries which enriched Touraine, there remained but fifty-four in 1698. Of the eight thousand looms for silk-stuffs, there remained but twelve hundred. The seven hundred silk mills were reduced to seventy, and of the forty thousand workmen employed in reeling and manufacturing the silk, only four thousand remained; and of the three thousand ribbon looms, not more than sixty remained. The two thousand four hundred bales of silk used in the manufactories were reduced to eight hundred.

Of the eighteen thousand looms for the manufacture of all kinds of stuffs which had been employed

in Lyons, there remained in 1698 about four thousand. The masters, with their riches and workmen, had emigrated.

The families of the Reformed, in and around the city of Paris, emigrated in great numbers, and with them departed the masters and workmen in the manufacture of gold and silver lace, to the impoverishing of many towns in the neighbourhood of the city.

In Normandy, the loss by emigration was incalculable. The city of Caen, engaged in foreign commerce, lost her richest citizens by emigration, to the undoing of the trade of the place. The entire population of Coutances emigrated, taking with them the manufactories of fine linen. More than twenty-six thousand habitations were left deserted in the various villages of this province, the emigrants carrying their manufactures and commerce with them.

In the district of Alençon, some three thousand Huguenots, that had enriched the city with their trade, emigrated and carried their wealth with them.

In the province of Champagne, of eighteen hundred and twelve looms in Rheims, only about one half were left. In Rethel, there remained only about thirty-eight woolen factories out of eighty. In Mezières, of one hundred and nine looms for the manufactory of serge, there remained but eight. The manufactory of fine cloth at Lezanne had but two workmen left.

The little principality of Sedan suffered greatly. In the villages of Givonne and Daigny, employed in the working of iron, sixty makers of stoves, scythes,

and other utensils, emigrated in one month. The flourishing city sunk down to a poor borough town by the diminution of its inhabitants and its wealth. The workmen that remained after the masters emigrated were left without employ and without bread. It was long before Sedan recovered in any degree this loss.

In Brittany, the trade carried on at Landerneau, Brest and Morlaix in fine linen, had decreased two-thirds. The manufacture of sail-cloth in Rennes, Nantes, and Vitre, diminished from year to year till the peasants ceased by little and little to cultivate hemp. In many places the manufacturers were glad to sell out their raw material and renounce the business.

In Maine, the manufactories of linen fell to decay. Of the twenty thousand workmen, but about six thousand, including women and children, who spun and reeled, remained.

These are examples of the ruin of cities and villages by the departure of the Huguenots, carrying their arts and wealth and workmen with them, impoverishing the provinces of France, and enriching the rest of Europe.

2d. *The injury to commerce was greater than the loss felt by the manufactories by this emigration.* The owners of the shipping were Huguenots. The owners of the goods embarked in trade were Huguenots. The sailors and ship-masters were likewise Huguenots. The commerce with foreign nations, carried on by these people, enriched France. The vessels carried

abroad the products of Huguenot skill, in forms alluring to foreigners, and returned with money, and the raw material, purchased for manufacturing purposes, at a cheap rate, soon to be returned to the producers in fabrics of immensely increased value; and bringing back to France an increase of wealth to her citizens, and abundant revenues to the crown. French fabrics were ever admired in Europe, and never more decidedly than at the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The effect on the revenue to the crown began to be felt immediately; and the splendid court of the Bourbons, in the midst of the glory of the empire, the most fascinating Europe had seen for centuries, began to contract the debt, which was immense at the death of Louis XIV., and under Louis XVI. involved the royal family in ruin. The prosperity of the Huguenots was the life-blood of the treasury of France; and their exile was the inevitable bankruptcy of the court.

According to McPherson, the annual export from France to Holland suffered in the articles of silk-stuffs, velvets, woolens and linens, of French productions at the rate of 600,000 pounds sterling; in hats 217,000 pounds sterling; glasses, clocks, watches and household articles, 160,000; of lace, gloves and paper, 260,000; of sack-cloth, flax-cloth and canvass, 165,000; in soap, saffron, honey and spun woolens, 300,000,—total, 1,702,000 pounds sterling.

Loss of exports to England for same reasons was 1,800,000 pounds sterling. The total to these two kingdoms, by means of the emigration, was about

3,582,000 pounds sterling annually. The loss of revenue, on exports and imports, was to France 1,500,000 pounds sterling each year, from these two nations only. No computation has been made for the loss from all other nations.

3d. *The exile of some seven hundred Huguenot ministers* inflicted an irreparable loss on the literature of France. In theology there were men of clear intellect and warm hearts, whose volumes have enlightened Europe with their clear definitions, their comprehensive views, their powerful logic, and impressive illustrations. Abaddie went to Berlin and published a work he projected in Paris—a treatise on the truth of the Christian religion—of which Boyle said: “It is long since a book has been written with greater force or breadth of genius.” The pastor Claude went to England, and there produced a volume—“The Complaints of the Protestants cruelly persecuted in the kingdom of France,” which, by its immense circulation, alarmed the French court. Its condemnation was pronounced by the King of England to conciliate Louis XIV. The numerous works of this man, particularly his “Essay on the Composition and Delivery of Sermons,” have not lost their influence to this day. Samuel Delangle and Pierre Allix, pastors of the church of Charenton, near Paris, were fine examples of pulpit eloquence. The writings of Allix, like his preaching, were appropriate to the condition of the church; and are read with pleasure and profit to this day. Louis XIV. used the means which he judged irresistible to induce his return to Paris and making

peace with the Romish church. By his order his secretary wrote to his ambassador in England: "If you can approach that minister and persuade him to return to France, with the intention of being converted, you may offer him, without hesitation, a pension of from three to four thousand livres; and if it should be necessary to go further, I have no doubt that, upon the notice you will give me of it, the King will consent to grant him favours still more considerable; in which case be assured that you will have done a thing most pleasing to his majesty." All in vain. He remained in England, and received marks of honour from the universities; had the favour of Bishop Burnet; and was employed by the English clergy to write the history of the councils of the church. His colleague, Delangle, received honorary appointments from the English clergy.

Saurin preached five years in London, and in 1705 accepted an invitation to the Hague, in which place he became matured in his eloquence, and took his station among the first of pulpit orators. The most splendid part of Abaddie's public ministry was in London, after his return from Ireland, where he witnessed the death of his friend, Schonberg, in the battle of the Boyne. He became a model of the English preachers. His pen was called into service by King William III., by whom he was also employed to pronounce the funeral oration of Queen Mary. The pastor Droz exercised his ministry in Dublin; established the first literary journal in that city, and founded a library on College Green.

More than two hundred Huguenot ministers were scattered through the United Provinces of Holland; men who preferred exile to loss of the freedom of conscience, and carried by their weight of character the greatest authority. Their names were pronounced with respect. Of these Saurin took the lead. Of him Abaddie said, when he first heard him: "Is this a man, or an angel, who is speaking to us?" Nothing in Bourdalaue, Fenelon, Massillon, and Fleihier surpassed his exhibitions in the pulpit. The refugees considered Claude their oracle, the man best capable of meeting in controversy, Arnaud and Bossuet. Jurieu had, like Claude, a great power over men in controversial writings. He maintained, in his replies to Bossuet, in his treatise on the Power of the Church, that the great Christian society, the church, is composed of all the several societies which recognize the law of Christ, and have held to the foundations of the faith.

Du Bosc fled to Rotterdam. Of him Louis said, after his speech at court against an edict of the Parliament: "Madame, I have just listened to the man who speaks the best of all my kingdom;" and turning to his courtiers: "it is certain I never heard one speak so well." From his attachment to the principles of St. Augustine, he was called "the preacher of grace." Superville became colleague of Du Bosc. Of great polish, and of elegant manners, he often said: "A Christian orator ought to have religion in his heart, even more than in his spirit." From his gentleness, and his purity of speech, and courtly man-



ners, he was the Fenelon of the Protestants. David Martin became preacher at Utrecht. He published a translation of the Bible, which was universally adopted by the French churches of Holland, Switzerland, and England. It has continued in use to this day, and is now circulated by the British and Foreign Bible Society. These are specimens of the theological scholars and preachers that fled from France, and bereft her of her ornaments.

4th. France lost by the emigration of many of her best soldiers. The Huguenots had ever defended the honour of their King and country, and every rank of society entered the army. The Huguenot nobles, and the Huguenot mechanics, and the Huguenot peasants, were all found in the army, in cases of necessity, and ever were classed among the best of soldiers. Multitudes of these fled from France when they could no longer have liberty to worship God according to the convictions of their conscience and the habits of their fathers. The Prince of Tarantum took service in the Dutch army; the Duke De la Trimeville in Hesse; Count De Roye in Denmark; Counts Beauveau and Briquemault went to the Dutchy of Brandenburgh; De Hallard was made private Councillor and Major-General by the Elector; De la Cave became Major-General in his army; and Du Plessis Gauret became Commandant of Magdeburg and Spandou. The number of officers who retired to Brandenburgh may be reckoned at six hundred. From these the Elector received most signal services. Of all these the Marquis De Varennes was the most

noble. He became Lieutenant-Colonel in active service, having his officers mostly of refugee Huguenots.

When the Prince of Orange embarked at Naerden to take possession of the English crown, in his little army of fifteen thousand men were three regiments of foot and a squadron of horse, composed entirely of refugees from France. Each of these regiments had an effective force of seven hundred and fifty men; in all, two thousand two hundred and fifty. Besides these, no less than seven hundred and thirty-six officers were dispersed among the other parts of the army, constituting about one-fifth of the whole army. About eighty officers trained under Condé and Turenne were in the expedition, holding the highest offices. Frederic Armond de Schonberg may be considered the military leader of the expedition. To him the Princess of Orange committed by private instructions the direction of affairs, should her husband fall in the enterprise. Public opinion had placed him next to Condé and Turenne; and Condé compared him to Turenne, of whom he had said: "If I were to swap myself, it would be for Turenne; he is the only leader with whom I would be willing to exchange even." The success of the expedition was greatly advanced by this brave and experienced commander. In the battle of the Boyne, which settled the crown on William, and broke up all the hopes of Louis XIV. for a Popish succession in England, the brave old man poured out his life in the hour of victory.

5th. France lost by the emigration many men of letters and artists. Besides the pastors who were

eminent for their literature, other men of eminence escaped to foreign lands. Rocaules of Beziers became historiographer of the family of Brandenburg, and had for his successor the learned Puffendorf. Larrey and Rapin made themselves famous by their works in English history. Many lawyers of eminence left their homes for conscience' sake, and found a residence in different parts of Europe. Eminent physicians and surgeons took refuge in foreign lands. Skilful artists sought the free exercise of their religion and their taste among the different kingdoms of Europe. Justel, private secretary of Louis XIV., became librarian to the King of England

Louis XIV. rejoiced over the unity of the Church in France, of which, as King, he was the political head. He controlled its funds, moulded its doctrines and fashioned its discipline. His court rejoiced in the triumph of forms of worship and articles of belief, under whose influence they could be devout without morality. The Romish party congratulated themselves and the followers of the Pope throughout Europe on their delivery from the opposing influence of Huguenot morality, Huguenot worship, Huguenot faith, both in the living and the dying. Louis thought himself King indeed ; and the clergy hailed the Pope supreme.

2d. The extent to which any power, political or religious, must go that would control the conscience by authority. Louis XIV. tried all the expedients of his father, under the cardinals, in vain. He increased the seductive influences of honourable posts, titles.

annuities, gifts, in hand and more in property, with an array of indignities, disabilities, losses, bodily suffering, and domestic trials, to lead men to be converted to the religion of the court. He had encouraged the dragoons in their plunderings and inflictions of horrible assaults and pains ; and yet the persecuted Church flourished. The number of those that swerved from the faith was supplied by the coming generation ; and the sufferings of the Church were her life.

The loss of the most enterprising population, of vast wealth, of trades, of manufactories, of commerce, of soldiers and sailors, persons of all ages and ranks, men who loved France and would have served the King, form the sacrifice made by arbitrary power, for the destruction of freedom of conscience in France. The price paid for the temporary success was beyond the strength of the nation. The most splendid kingdom in Europe began to give signs of a coming change. The progress was novel. The end filled Europe first with amazement and then with the clash of arms.

## CHAPTER XIII.

The effects of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes upon the Protestant Nations of Europe.

THE cities and towns of Protestant Europe, particularly those whose creeds and forms harmonized with the Reformed Church of France, opened their gates to the exiles, made by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

1st. The Reformed cantons of Switzerland. In the town of Basle a Church was founded by the exiles from France on the occasion of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's day. The leaders were the two sons of the Admiral Coligny, who fled from France on hearing of the murder of their father. The canton of Berne, during the troubles under Charles IX., Henry III., and Louis XIII., received many exiles. A nobleman, who saved the life of Henry IV. on the day of Contras, returned to Lausanne. A celebrated engineer established himself in Berne, built the ramparts of the city, founded a French Church, and provided it with a pastor in 1623. Geneva, from the time she embraced the Reformed faith, was always ready to receive the exiles from France. She strengthened herself, from

time to time, by the Huguenot exiles. The circumstances of the death of Henry IV. determined some nobles to make Geneva their home. Such was the respect felt for Geneva in France, that when she was threatened by the Duke of Savoy, many nobles offered their personal services; others sent money; and the Duke De Bouillon sent his engineer to repair her ramparts. She was assured that "all well-balanced minds made general cause with her." After the taking of Rochelle, the Duke De Laubin repaired to Geneva. After performing some military exploits for the Swiss, he fell in battle at Rheinfell, mortally wounded, fighting under the Duke of Weimar. He was interred at Geneva with great pomp in the Church of St. Peter, according to a strong desire he expressed to be buried in the town he had ever loved. His monument may yet be seen representing a warrior of the 16th century.

The persecutions, which preceded the revocation, sent multitudes of exiles to Geneva. When the dragoons went to Gex and Bresse to enforce conversion to Rome, multitudes hastily fled. On the 21st day of September, 1685, they began to arrive at Geneva in masses, with their valuables in wagons. In a few weeks exiles flocked there from Dauphin and Languedoc, and soon from the other provinces of the kingdom. Jacques Flournoy, in his manuscript, says: "Every day there continue to arrive a great many of these poor people, and their number already exceeds many thousands. Among others, numerous French ministers have passed through; and although they

remain but a few days in the city, more than fifty of them may be seen at a time. The French fund is drained. On the 9th of November two hundred and twenty-eight, from the pays de Gex alone, were received. By the 15th of November a thousand from that single country had already received assistance." The "French fund" was instituted in 1545 by David De Busanton, who bequeathed half his fortune to the general hospital, and the other half to the refugees. This fund was enriched from time to time by the Reformed, anxious to do good, and to show their gratitude for favours. In 1687 the tide of emigration flowed strong to Geneva. Flournoy, under date of May 25th, says: "Every day a surprising number of Frenchmen arrive, who have fled from the kingdom for religion's sake. It has been remarked that hardly a week passes that as many as three hundred do not come, and this has continued since the end of winter. Some days as many as a hundred and twenty reach here, in numerous bands. Most of them are young tradesmen, but there are also people of quality." Again he says: "During all this time, there passes through the city a surprising number of poor French refugees, who enter by the new gate and leave by the lake. Most of them are from Dauphiny. As many as three hundred arrive every day. On the 16th, 17th and 18th of August, eight hundred in all entered the city. The fund is entirely exhausted. Its capital two years ago was more than eight thousand crowns; but it has no longer any thing, notwithstanding the considerable charities it has received.

On the 15th of August fifteen hundred francs were distributed. During all this year it has distributed five hundred crowns monthly. The Council gave five hundred crowns to the fund, the churches of the country as much more, and the hospital the same, besides taking care of all the sick. The revenue of all the Thursday charity boxes was granted them throughout the year. The Italian fund also gave five hundred crowns. The public, in their turn, furnished the boat for transporting the refugees to Switzerland, which amounted to about a thousand crowns for the year. It is said, that in the five weeks, which ended on the 1st of September, nearly eight thousand of them entered the city, so that, although they left every day by the lake, there were ordinarily about three thousand in Geneva." The official registers say: "March 4th, 1687. Crowds of refugees are seen in the public places. May 24th. From twelve to thirteen hundred persons have arrived in this city from the Spays de Gex. August 31st. The list of refugees, who arrived yesterday at Neufe, amounts to about eight hundred. The hospitals have been ordered to provide sheds to shelter those who arrive. September 16th. During the past week, about eleven hundred and fifty refugees arrived. On the 24th of November a solemn fast was celebrated."

When the French prisons were thrown open, in 1688, and a crowd of captives set at liberty, numerous prisoners of illustrious birth were escorted to the frontiers, and there heard their sentence of eternal



banishment from France; and were dismissed with a few pistoles out of their confiscated property.

The King of France sent to Geneva a letter, requiring all who had left France to return home; and forbade the Genevese receiving any that left France without permission. The affairs of a military nature engrossed the attention of the King; and the heavy threats he uttered against Geneva were never executed.

The Protestant cantons of Switzerland were as ready as Geneva to welcome and assist the refugees. On account of the smallness of their territories, and the roughness of the surface, they could permit but about twenty thousand of the exiles to remain in Geneva, Berne, Zurich, Neufehold, Schoffhausen, and St. Gall. The influence of this number of active persons was speedily felt in the agriculture and mechanic arts of Switzerland. Improved gardening added greatly to the comfort of the towns. Geneva received a great number of master watchmakers, goldsmiths and jewelers. As early as 1685, five thousand watches were yearly supplied to commerce. Berne profitted by the cultivation of the mulberry-tree. Lausanne received hat manufactories, together with those of chintz and stockings.

At the head of the military men, that remained in Switzerland, was Henri, the son of the celebrated Admiral Duquesne. Not being permitted to take his father's body, he carried with him the embalmed heart. He erected a centotaph, inscribed, "This tomb awaits the remains of Duquesne. Traveller,

interrogate the court, the army, the Church, and even Asia, Africa, and the two oceans: ask them why a superb mausoleum has been erected to the brave Ruyter, and none to Duquesne, his conquerer? I see that, through respect to the great King, thou darest not break silence." The soldiers, refugees, always took part in the defence of their adopted country, Switzerland, and contributed not a little to the armies that finally brought to naught the projects of Louis. One of the emigrants, Cavalier, returned to his native country, and became the military head of the Camisards, when only twenty-one years old, and is noted in history. He was entrapped by Marshal Villiers, with the promises of protection for himself and countrymen, and conducted to Paris. There, on an interview with the King, he found he had been deceived, but in nothing degraded. He escaped from France, and served in the armies of the Protestants.

Switzerland received her portion of men of literature and science, and from them obtained the advantage of improved language, and arts and philosophy. These refugees were superceded by the literary refugees of Louis XV., who did so much to corrupt Switzerland; and to these were added the political refugees in later times, which injured all Europe by their free thinking.

At the close of the year 1685, about two hundred pastors had retired to Switzerland. Of all that may be considered as refugees, the name of Antoine Court, the founder of a divinity school at Lausanne, to supply preachers to the Reformed churches in the

mountains of France, stands first. He is worthy of a memoir; and his history would relate the most important facts in the war of the Camisards, and those that succeeded, called Wars of the Cevennes. It would lead to a statement of the persecution of the Reformed Church in France through that memorable age of infidelity, that covered France as a dark cloud, that burst in the terrible revolution in which the blood of the Bourbon King was poured out on the scaffold. He died in 1670. Add to this the life of Paul Rabout, with that of his son, and a volume of the deepest interest would be presented to the world. Such heroism, such devotion, such self-denial, such earnestness in the cause of the gospel, make their way to all hearts.

2d. The United Provinces of Holland. Holland had been from the dark ages the asylum of the oppressed. The fugitives found a home in her broad marshes, and along her bleak shores. With her prosperity her hospitality increased, and the distressed from every climate were welcomed to her damp climate, her freedom, and her enterprise. In the troubles which came upon other nations on account of religion, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, she received crowds of exiles. More than thirty thousand English found in Holland a refuge from the bloody persecution of Mary, Queen of England. A host of Germans, during the thirty years war, sought, on the banks of the rivers in Holland, that religious liberty they could not enjoy in their own country. The Dukes of Alva, Requesens and Parma sent many

of the Walloons, and Flemings, and Brabanters to the same hiding-places. Colonies of Reformed were established in 1578 at Amsterdam; in 1579 at Harlaem; in 1584 at Leyden; in 1586 at Delft; in 1579 at Middleburgh; 1580 at Utrecht; and in 1589 at Dort. The greater part of the Reformed in the cities of Tournay, Oudenarde, Mechlin, Antwerp and Ghent, sold their property and retired to the provinces of Holland. When the Duke of Parma gave the inhabitants of the southern part of the Netherlands the choice of exile, or conformity to the Romish church, their religion blossomed anew.

It was very natural for the Huguenots to look upon Holland as their refuge in trouble. When Henry III. of France in 1585, issued an edict requiring the Huguenots to be converted to the national religion or leave the kingdom in six months, a great number from the northern and eastern borders repaired to Holland and joined the colonies of the Walloons, whose language and forms of religion were familiar. After the capture of Rochelle, in 1629, many Huguenots from Rochelle and the southern provinces retired to Holland. When Louis XIV. commenced his severe edicts, the emigration to Holland was renewed. The Count De Estrades, on his return from the embassy to the Hague in 1688, informed Ruvigny that more than eight hundred families had fled to Holland to escape the persecution then pressing the Huguenots.

This emigration of the Huguenots to Holland, assumed, towards the latter part of the seventeenth century, a political form. In 1681, the dragonades

sent from Poictou some thousands of emigrants to Holland. The *Sieur Amonet* repaired to the Hague, and by his representations, awakened the public to the advantages to be received by that city, from the fatal policy of Louis, in driving manufacturers from his kingdom. Preparations were made for the favourable reception of the fugitives. In the same year, the states of Holland freed all refugees that would settle in the provinces from taxes for the period of twelve years.

After the edict permitting children of seven years of age to renounce the Reformed Church and embrace the Romish, the Count *D'Avaux* sent from Holland to his government, "the fury is extreme in all the towns, especially in Amsterdam." Lamentations were sung in the streets at night. A general collection was ordered in favour of the refugees; and the sufferers in France were informed that part of the funds would be reserved to assist those who might emigrate. The severity of that winter aided the refugees to reach Amsterdam by passing over the ice.

As the edicts of Louis became more severe, the number of emigrants to Holland increased. About a month after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Count *D'Avaux* wrote to the King that the deputies in the States General of Holland were greatly moved by the information that, "the Dutch domiciled in France could neither leave the country, nor withdraw their possessions, although not naturalized Frenchmen." The French monarch was constrained to declare "that he did not pretend to detain the subjects of the States

General contrary to their will, and that passports would be granted to all who desired to withdraw and sell their effects." This did not allay the indignation. And in preparation for the Edict of Revocation, the city of Amsterdam added five French preachers to the three already supported, to be ready for the coming of refugees.

So numerous were the refugees that sought a home in Holland, that on the proposition of the Synod of the Reformed Dutch in 1686, the authorities allotted sixteen French pastors for the refugees in Amsterdam; seven for those in Dort; seven for Harlaem; six for Delft; eight to Leyden; and five to Gonda; to Schiedam, Schoonhaven and Briel each two. The other provinces received a great number. In the United Provinces there were in 1688 as many as sixty-two churches founded or augmented by the refugees.

The French ambassador at the Hague long denied the existence of any necessity for the emigrations, and defended his King against the charge of cruelty. But four days before the Edict of Revocation was registered Louis wrote to him, October 18th, 1688: "I am very happy to inform you that God having granted full success to the means I have long adopted for bringing back my subjects into the bosom of the Church; and the advices which I daily receive of an infinite number of conversions, leaving me no room to doubt that the most obstinate will now follow the example of the rest; I have interdicted all exercise of the falsely termed Reformed religion within my kingdom, by an edict, of which I send you a copy, for your private

information, which will be immediately passed in all my parliaments, and will meet with less difficulty in its execution, in that there are few persons left so obstinate as to prefer persisting in error."

When the Edict of Revocation was known, the people of the United Provinces made every manifestation of deep interest. On the 21st of the succeeding November, they held a solemn fast. All business was suspended on that day; three sermons were heard in each church, and wherever it was convenient, a refugee minister was called to preach. Two hundred and fifty French pastors sought a refuge in Holland, as soon as possible after the edict. Preparations were made for their support.

The French women found a protectress in the Princess of Orange. Other ladies imitated her example. Houses of refuge were prepared at Harlaem, Delft, Hague and Harderwick, by the rich families of the emigration, which these ladies of Holland took under their patronage. More than a hundred ladies of noble parentage, after losing all they possessed in France, their husbands and brothers imprisoned, found in these houses an asylum. The Princess of Orange continued her attention to these houses after she became Queen of England.

Of the two hundred and fifty pastors that found refuge in Holland, may be mentioned some names of men of special worth, as Menard, who became court preacher of William III. of England; Claude, whose conference with Bossuet and numerous writings had made notorious; Jurieu, whose talents were

exercised on controversial subjects; Basnage, the writer of historical works of value, one of which was a history of the Dutch Republic, of whom Voltaire said, "he was more fit to be minister of state than of a parish;" Martin, the translator of the Bible into French for the use of the exiles, a translation still widely circulated; Superville, whose catechism is still in use; Benoit, who wrote a history of the revocation; Du Bosc, whose sermons and other writings vindicate his claim to eloquence and powers of a higher order; Saurin the elder, called the patriarch of the refuge; Saurin, the younger, whose sermons translated into English, exhibit the richness and elegance for which he was famous; and Polyandre, long esteemed the most eloquent preacher at Dort.

To these preachers may be added a long list of refugees from the southern provinces of France, gentlemen of birth and standing, brave officers, who escaped from apostacy pressed on them by military force; rich merchants of Amiens, Rouen, Bordeaux and Nantes; agriculturalists from Provence, Languedoc, Roussillon and Guienne; artisans from Brittany and Normandy; mechanics from every part of France. Among these were Pierre Brilly, the richest manufacturer of Clermont Lodeve, Pineau of Nismes, and Demont Laures of Nantes, both celebrated artificers; and Gaulon, the rival of Vauban in engineering and fortification. Some brought their fortunes with them, as Mariet, a wine merchant of Paris took away 600,000 livres; Gaylen, a bookseller of Lyons, took away above a million of livres; his brother from Paris



saved 100,000. Cossard of Rouen saved his whole property and settled at the Hague. More than two hundred and fifty merchants of the same town followed him to Holland, or went to England carrying their wealth. The Count D'Avaux informed Louis that more than 20,000,000 had been withdrawn from France.

In 1698, the States General supplicated the king of Sweden to take charge of the newly arrived exiles, and allot them lands in his German territories, as "the United Provinces are so crowded with them that they have no longer the means of supporting the new arrivals."

The political influence on the United Provinces was very great; it may be said to be revolutionizing. The French ambassador at the Hague had long been forming a French party in Holland, in opposition to the Prince of Orange, against whom there was previously a party opposed. The ambassador was successful in all his movements, until the dragoonings of Louis drove the Huguenots to commence emigrating. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes with its effects entirely destroyed the prospects of the French party and gave the Prince of Orange the ascendancy. The refugees made the strength of the army by which the Prince of Orange put down all opposition to his claim to the crown of England. It was by the aid of the circumstances connected with the Revocation that the alliance of Augsburg was formed. And the exiles that entered the armies that fought against Louis aided in bringing about the peace of Riswick, so little

to the advantage of France. The refugees aided also in the battles which covered the allied arms with glory in the Netherlands. When the Prince of Orange became King of England, all hopes of a popish succession to the crown was destroyed. In all human probability, the persecutions accompanying the revocation of the Edict of Nantes changed the affairs of Holland and England from being under French influence, and so of a Romish cast, and put them in the condition of being entirely Protestant. Louis proved himself no statesman, he could only claim to be a self-willed politician.

The religious and literary influence exerted by the French refugees upon Holland was peculiarly marked. The best histories of the single provinces, and of the United Provinces, were written by the Reformed exiles. They also established periodicals of a high literary character; and as the language of the exiles became more and more common in Holland, the common people became acquainted with much of the literature and the science, which had hitherto been confined to the Latin tongue, as the vehicle of thought among the learned, and thus removed from the sphere of the common people. The change of the language, which should be the vehicle of thought, was a source of pleasure and improvement to the Dutch. Some of the best preachers of the age took their abode in some of the cities of the United Provinces. They drew crowds of the natives to listen and join in the worship of the refugees. The life and beauty of their discourses won the hearts of the people. The

general style of the Dutch preachers had become almost exclusively didactic and monotonous. Their sermons abounded in argument and discussions of theological questions, often learned and curious, but not attractive. The warm addresses and appeals, and statements of gospel truth, from the French pulpits, gained the public ear. And a better order of preaching was diffused through the Dutch churches, accompanied with some heart-burnings and mortifications at seeing the increasing influence of the new rival. By degrees the warmth and kindness of the exiles prevailed to give a decided change to the Dutch pulpit without a controversy. Protestant Holland received a blessing in her kind reception of the exiles.

The mechanical arts received a great impulse of improvement in the States of Holland by the coming of the French exiles. Manufactories of silk, linen, woolen, of hats, paper and books, were set up by the emigrants, on a most extensive scale, in different towns and cities. By the influence of these the States were greatly enriched. They had been importing all these articles from France at heavy expense. Silks, linens, woolens and hats, had been imported at the rate of 600,000 pounds sterling a year. All this expense was stopped, and the exports in these things to the different parts of Europe were large. In hats, the expense had been 217,000 pounds sterling annually. After the manufacture began in the States, the importation was stopped and exportation began. It has been computed that the yearly importation of the States from France had been

1,702,000 pounds sterling. One of the effects of the edict of Louis XIV. was, to assure to Holland the money, credit, commercial skill, and acquired knowledge, of as many of the refugees as transferred their abode thither. The manufactories established by the exiles assured advantageous investments to unemployed capital to a great amount. The refugees increased the traffic of the country, and fully indemnified their benefactors for all the expenses their benevolence had incurred in the kind reception they had offered.

3d. *Brandenburgh and Prussia.* Frederic William, of Brandenburgh, educated in the court of the Prince of Orange, cultivated, like his ancestors, a strong friendship for the Reformed of France. In 1611 the Margrave of Brandenburgh, John George, went to the University of Saumur, and there contracted an intimacy with the famous Duplessis Mornay; and in 1614 made possession of the faith of the Reformed French Church, preferring it to the creed of the Lutherans. On account of the thirty years' war, Frederic William was not sent to France, but made his acquaintance with the French at the court of Orange. He married Louisa Henrietta, the daughter of the Stadtholder, Frederic Henry, and great-granddaughter of the famous William of Orange, the taciturn, and his wife, Louisa De Chatillon, the daughter of the Admiral Coligny. His education and marriage secured the ascendancy of the French language at his court. When he came to the throne in 1640, the country was in a state of great depres-

sion ; its commerce destroyed and its fields laid waste. Among other efforts to reinstate his dominions, he held out inducements to foreigners to become his subjects. His minister, Schwerin, at the court of Versailles, took advantage of the first oppressive edict of the King of France, to invite the Huguenots to make their homes in the Electorate of Brandenburg. As early as 1661, several French families emigrated to Berlin. Their number was increased from year to year ; and permission was granted them to build a place of worship for a congregation using the French language. The first public service was performed June 10, 1672. At this time there were about one hundred families, the most illustrious of which was that of Count Louis de Beauveau D'Espenses, the Elector's master of horse.

Louis XIV. issued his edict of revocation of the Edict of Nantes on the 22d of October, 1685. One week after, the Elector issued his edict at Potsdam, declaring in its preamble : “ Inasmuch as the persecutions and rigorous proceedings recently had in France against all of the Reformed religion, have compelled many families to leave that kingdom and establish themselves abroad, we have determined, as being touched by just compassion, which we are bound to feel for all who suffer for the Gospel's sake, and for the purity of that faith which we hold in common with them, to offer to the aforesaid French, by this present edict, signed with our own hand, a sure and free asylum in all the lands and provinces of our dominions ; and to declare to them at once what rights,

franchises, and privileges we intend that they should enjoy, and console them and repair, in some degree, the calamities with which Divine Providence has seen it good to strike so considerable a portion of the church." The edict proceeds to number up the privileges the emigrants of every class and grade should enjoy; agriculturalists, manufacturers, merchants, nobles, were invited with special promises. Orders were given to the representatives of the Elector, residing in the United Provinces, to furnish provisions and transports to bring the refugees to Hamburg. To those escaping from France, invitations were sent to meet them on their different routes to direct their attention and course to the Electorate of Brandenburg. Great facilities were granted to those who entered the Electorate; and these were increased to those who advanced the farthest to seek their homes. In cities where several families of Huguenots were gathered, judges of their own selection were allowed for the arrangement of civil affairs. A pastor was to be attached to each colony to perform the public services in the French tongue, and according to the liturgy of the Reformed French Church.

This edict was speedily spread through France. Louis took speedy measures to prevent its circulation and success; but in vain. Frankfort was speedily crowded with emigrants to the Electorate. The resident minister of Frederic William provided for all their necessities. The Landgrave of Hesse caused them to be received as the adopted subjects of the Elector. Those who went by Amsterdam found

agents ready to assist them to their new homes in Brandenburg. The refugees thus welcomed did not at once mingled with the natives in the duties of citizens. They preserved their identity ; had courts of justice according to French forms ; had their consistories and colloquies and synods according to church order in France. In every thing but soil and climate they seemed to be at home. Some of these were poor and others in good circumstances ; some succeeded in getting their property remitted from France. Jurieu, in his pastoral letter, made a computation that the emigrants carried with them on leaving France, enough to average two hundred crowns apiece. And it is stated that for a series of years, French silver coin formed the greater part of the circulating medium of the country. The Elector received into his treasury any money the emigrants chose to deposit, for which he gave obligations bearing interest redeemable at three months notice.

A fund was raised by the exiles to assist the necessitous. The French officers appropriated the twentieth of their salaries, or as they expressed it, “a sou on a franc.” The Elector added all the forfeitures and fines his subjects might legally incur. Duke Schomberg paid to this fund two thousand francs annually while he remained in the kingdom. Four illustrious refugees who had been some time in the Electorate were placed in charge of all that concerned the comfortable settlement of the refugees.

1st. The Count of Beauveau, who had been Lieutenant-Colonel in the service of Louis XIV., and was

made Lieutenant-General by the Elector, and was the founder of the church in Berlin, had in charge the emigrants from the Isle of France.

2d. Claude Du Bellay, Lord of Anché, of an ancient family in Anjou, chamberlain to the Elector, and charged with education of the three sons of the Elector, had under his care the refugees from Anjou and Poictou.

3d. Henry of Briquemault, of the Duchy of Rethel, named Lieutenant-General by the Elector, was to watch over the interests of the exiles from Champagne.

4th. Walter de Saint Blancaird, pastor from Montpellier, and now chaplain to the court at Berlin, was charged with the affairs of the refugees from Languedoc.

David Ancillon, pastor of Metz, was a noble leader of the emigration. The Edict of Revocation was carried to Metz the same day it was enrolled at Paris. On the 24th, the temple was closed, and on the next day destroyed. The pastors Ancillon, De Combles, Joly and Bancelin plead their privileges under the treaty of Westphalia, which secured to Metz its religious privileges. The prime minister Louvois returned as answer: "What! when they have but one step to leave the kingdom, are they not yet out of it?" They immediately repaired to Brandenburg. Ancillon was made pastor at Berlin. Some two or three thousand of the citizens, alarmed by the barbarous treatment of the body of Paul Chevenix, president of the councillors of the parliament of Metz, who died refusing the communion of the Romish church, in



being drawn through the streets on a hurdle by order of the court, in opposition to the parliament; and encouraged by Ancillon, took refuge in Brandenburg. Among these were Lord of Bancourt, an ex-Major-General of Louis, and Major-General Le Bachellé, De Varennes, De Vernicourt, De Montigni, Le Chenevix, Le Goulon and Ferri, who enriched the country of their refuge by a sum of not less than 2,000,000 of crowns. Ancillon was appointed to watch over the emigrants from Metz as the 5th of the committee of superintendence.

6th. The pastor Abaddie received the charge of those who came from Bearne.

The number of refugees that made the Electorate their home was estimated at twenty-five thousand, and were of six different classes of Frenchmen: soldiers, gentlemen, men of letters, artists, merchants, manufacturers and agriculturists.

1st. Soldiers. The greater part of the Protestant nobility of France, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, served in some position in the army under Schomberg, and in the navy under Du Quesne. Some of these came to the Electorate before the Edict of Revocation. After the revocation about six hundred emigrated to that country. The Elector at once incorporated them into the army; new regiments were raised for the younger officers, and the older ones were appointed to posts. These officers brought with them all the military science of France. The science of engineering and fortification, in its infancy in the Electorate, soon assumed the perfec-

tion it had obtained in France under Vauban. A navy was soon formed, which for years was of great service to the Elector. At the death of the Elector, in 1688, it amounted to thirty-eight thousand men. The Prussian army became notorious in the history of Europe.

2d. Gentlemen. By the act of Louis, in retaining all the registers of the consistories, in which were kept the baptisms, marriages and sepultures, and by the acts of the soldiers, in destroying the private papers of families, and by the destruction of the tombs, whose decorations were the heraldic emblems of the families, the exiles could not give the Elector proofs of their position in France. The learned Spanheim was referred to for his knowledge of French heraldry; and the six commissioners appointed to watch the interests of the emigrants—these, with the French Ambassador at Berlin, who cheerfully gave his aid, were enabled to establish the claim to nobility made by the refugees. These gentlemen, thus established, obtained posts of honour and emolument under the Elector; and contributed greatly to the dignity and honour of the Electorate.

3d. Men of letters. Many of these left France under the severities which preceded the revocation. Berlin received her share; and the court, of which these men made part, reflected the brilliancy of Versailles. Of the pastors, men of letters, Blancaird, Fornerod, and Abaddie, had retired to Brandenburgh before the revocation. They were followed by Dartis, Ancillon of Metz, and Repey of Montauban, who all

were allotted to the French Church at Berlin. The most numerous congregation, after Berlin, was that of Magdeburg. Large congregations, with numerous pastors, were formed in other places. Of all the pastors, Abaddie exercised the greatest influence. His panegyric on the Elector was circulated through Europe, and added greatly to his patron's popularity. Of his "Treatise on the Truths of the Christian Religion," written the same year with the panegyric, Bayle said: "It is long since a book has been written with greater force, or breadth of genius." Rabutin, not a believer, wrote to Madame Sevigne: "We read it now-a-days, and consider it the only book worthy to be read in the world." She replied: "It is the most charming of all books. This is the general opinion; I think that no man ever treated as he does of religion." Other men of letters of eminence were, Rocoules, historiographer of the house of Brandenburg, whose successor was Puffendorf; Tessier, who translated into French Rocoules' life of Frederic William; Larrey, author of the "Annals of Great Britian." Eminent lawyers, also, fled to Brandenburg, and found honourable positions.

4th. Traders and manufacturers. These the Elector made special efforts to attract to Magdeburg. He obtained from Languedoc and Sedan manufacturers of wool, that contributed greatly to the prosperity of his Electorate. The art of stocking weaving, carried to high excellence in France, was also introduced. But few manufactories were formed in Berlin. Single workmen, in different branches of trade, found

full employ, and made fortunes; and the production of woolen cloths of different kinds increased, and the article became abundant for exportation. The Elector supplied his army with woolen cloths before encouraging the exportation. Next came the manufacture of hats on an extensive scale. Previously the importation from France had been at great expense. All other manufactories, thought advantageous to the Electorate, were introduced. The foundation was laid for the great wealth and strength of the kingdom of Prussia.

5th. Agriculturists. To these, lands were distributed freely. And in a short time, the barren fields of the Electorate, laid waste by war, smiled with the productions of their labour. Agriculture, in its various forms, agreeing with the climate, obtained a permanent foothold in the Electorate.

The Elector, Frederic William, having laid the foundation of his country's prosperity, died in 1688, and was succeeded by his son, Frederic, the first King of Prussia. This Elector and King pursued the policy of his father towards the Huguenots; and by encouraging emigration to his territory, increased the power and prosperity of Prussia. The army of thirty-nine thousand men, left him by his father, was carefully trained and enlarged by the refugees; and became a powerful force, whose importance was felt in the wars that ensued, to prevent the encroachment of the King of France.

This Elector and first King of Prussia encouraged the French College, and the Academy of Nobles at

Berlin, and the French Institute or Academy of Chevaliers at Halle. The Academy at Berlin chartered, in 1700, was the most famous. In connexion with this Academy were professors and men of eminence, who elevated the literature of Prussia. Mr. Weiss tells us: "The Queen, Sophia Charlotte, had a decided fondness for French literature;" and the castle of Charlottenberg became the assylum for all refugees of distinction. In her castle she loved to converse with Abaddie, Ancillon, Chauvin, Jacquilot, Lenfant, and more often with the great Beausobre, her chaplain. "It was there that she disputed, with the smile of Venus on her lips, with the Irishman, Toland, who hoped to attach her to the party of free-thinkers."

The difference between the Elector and first King and the Elector, his father, was that the Elector, in inviting refugees, paid most attention to the physical improvement of Prussia, and the first King turned his attention most to the mental and literary improvement of his people.

The first King of Prussia died 1713. His son, Frederic William, the second King of Prussia, succeeded. He turned his attention most to the refugees that could assist him in military matters. Carefully instructed in his youth, he imbibed strong prejudices against literature, from the example of some learned men at court, whose seditious notions he attributed to their education. His attention was turned wholly to increasing his army and replenishing his treasury.

Frederic the Great, the *third King* of Prussia, came to the crown in 1740, with a treasury free from debt, and with a fund of 8,700,000 crowns, and a disciplined army of fifty-five battalions and one hundred and eleven squadrons. He encouraged every thing that seemed to advance Prussia. Agriculture, arts, science, literature, and military discipline. By his influence the French language became the language of science. "French has been substituted," says Formay, "for Latin in order to give its records of transactions a more extensive circulation; for the limits of Latin country are becoming visibly contracted, whilst the French language is to-day in almost the same position in which the Greek language was in the time of Cicero. It is learned every where. Books written in French are sought with avidity. All the best works that Germany or England produce are translated into this language." Mr. Weiss adds, concerning the use of the French language: "Since the reign of the grand Elector, it had been spoken at Berlin, Magdeburg, Halle, and more generally still in the little towns, where the refugees lived in a more isolated manner than in the great centres of population. We know the singular impression which was made upon the French officers, taken prisoners at the battle of Rosbach, not only by the multitude of their former fellow-citizens, originally from every part of the kingdom, but also by the almost universal use of their language, in all the provinces of the Prussian monarchy, even in those inhabited by the natives themselves. They encour-

tered every where the numerous descendents of the refugees, devoted to the culture of literature and the arts, giving an example of the gravest morals, and preserving, in the midst of a society which was already beginning to give itself over to the incredulous spirit of the age, an unalterable attachment to the religious convictions of their ancestors."

In the seven years war, at the call of the King, the descendents of the emigrants took a glorious part in the struggle of Prussia against Austria, France, and Russia. No less than nine generals of French extraction led the armies to defend the country of their birth, and of their fathers' assylum. Prussia, from that desperate war, has been ranked among the great powers of Europe.

## CHAPTER XIV.

The relation of England to the Huguenots; and the Effects of the Revocation on the interests of the Kingdom.

THE Huguenots, or Reformed French, in their earliest troubles received the sympathy of the Protestants of England. The errors of the Romish church were a common evil; and the success of the Reformers in France promoted the honorable designs of the English nation for her own welfare and the well being of the Protestant nations of Europe. Whenever the Huguenots were oppressed in a form that admitted intervention, the English spoke and acted in their favour. In 1550, King Edward VI. by patent royal entrusted John A. Lasro with the superintendence of all the refugees from France, Holland, Germany and Switzerland, that had retired to England; assigning for their use in celebrating religious worship after the manner of their country, the Church of the Benedictines. “Grace and lofty considerations have convinced us that it is part of the duty of Christian princes to be prompt and well affectioned toward the Holy Gospel and the Apostolic Religion, instituted and given by Christ Himself, without which no government can prosper; considering, moreover,



that it is the office of a Christian prince, in well administering his kingdom, to provide for religion and for unhappy persons who are afflicted and banished for religion's sake, we would have you to know, that pitying the condition of those who have been for sometime past sojourners in our kingdom, and are arriving therein daily, we will and order of our own special grace, of our own certain knowledge, and of our full movement, as likewise with the advice of our council, that henceforth there shall be in our city of London a temple, entitled the Temple of our Lord Jesus, in which the assembly of the Germans and other foreigners may meet and perform their services, to the end that by the ministers of their church the Holy Gospel may be purely interpreted, and the sacraments administered according to the word of God and the Apostolic ordinances."

To the superintendent Alasis, he added four ministers, two of French origin, and two of German or Dutch descent.

The King, by his patent, made these five persons a body politic, under the safeguard of all the ecclesiastical and civil authorities of the land. In a few months after this patent, the French obtained the chapel in Threadneedle street for their worship in the French tongue, and had a distinct existence without separating from their brethren from Holland and Germany. The King had a predilection for the French language, and wrote two books in that language, and encouraged Alasis to establish a printing press for the publication of religious works. His sister, Mary

Tudor, on coming to the crown, pursued a course of persecution and broke up the church formed under the supervision of Alasis. The members fled, some to Germany, some to Denmark, and some to Switzerland, accompanied by many of the English.

On the accession of Elizabeth to the crown, the French reentered their church under the supervision of Grindall, bishop of London, and were in favour with the Queen her whole life. When the Queen made reprisals on Charles IX. of France, for seizing the property of some English merchants accused of favouring the Huguenots, and seized the property of French merchants, she exempted the property of those who had become refugees for their religion. In 1568, the French pastor, John Cousin, obtained the liberation of all the French refugees who were confined for debt. At this time the French church had four hundred and fifty communicants.

In consequence of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the number of refugees became too large to be supplied by the congregation, either in their temporal or spiritual wants, and the Queen recommended them to the Archbishop of Canterbury. And when some years after the merchants and artisans of the city, with their apprentices, jealous of the competition which these refugees maintained by their skill and industry, clamoured with threats that they should be driven from the kingdom, Elizabeth protected them in their privileges, and by so doing promoted the advancement of the mechanic arts in England.

Elizabeth did not hesitate to let her voice be heard

in France. After the massacre at Vassy, in 1562, she engaged to send succours to a large amount to the Huguenots ; and her designs were frustrated only by the fickleness of some of the leaders of the Huguenots, and disagreement of others about the course to be pursued in that conjuncture of their affairs. After the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the French ambassador, not able for many days to obtain an audience with the Queen, was at last admitted to her presence in the private council-room, Elizabeth and the lords of her cabinet with the court-ladies all clad in deep mourning, and turning their heads away, as he advanced towards her majesty, and endeavoured to exonerate the French King from that enormous crime. An expedition was fitted out in England for the relief of Rochelle, which was threatened by the French King.

When Henry IV. came to the crown, Elizabeth sent him congratulations as a Huguenot king, and aided him with men and money in his wars with the League and Spain. When the Edict of Nantes was promulgated, she sent to her ambassador, Walsingham : “ We doubt not that you fully apprehend how necessary it is for our own tranquility and that of our kingdom that the Protestant faith shall be maintained. It is to this end we command you that whenever you may perceive an opportunity for contributing to the observation of the edict, you will not fail to do it.”

Besides the church of the refugees in London, Queen Elizabeth encouraged the founding of numerous others in her kingdom. One was founded at

Canterbury in 1561, in favour of the Walloons, to whom were added a great colony of Huguenots. By 1634 the number of communicants amounted to 900. One was founded at Norwich in 1554, on the petition of the Duke of Norfolk, consisting of Walloons and Huguenots. One was founded in Sandwich, by French refugees, who had first been located at London and Norwich. That at Southampton was composed of fugitives from the north of France, and the Walloons. That at Rye for the refugees after the massacre of St. Bartholomew. A number of others were formed between the years of 1572 and the revocation of the edict in 1685. In London, the Huguenots had permission to found, previously to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, that of Savoy in 1641, by Rohan, Lord of Saubize; that of Marylebone in 1650 by Cromwell; and that of Castle street by Charles II. To these were added by James II., the church in Spitalfields in 1688; and by his successors, William III., Anne, and George I., in different parts of London, twenty-six new foundations were added to accommodate the numerous worshippers.

The Kings, James I., Charles I. and Charles II., and James II., temporized with the French Reformed. To please the mass of their subjects, they openly declared in favour of the Huguenots; and passed acts and sent out letters as decided as those of Edward VI. and Elizabeth; but in their private negotiations with the Kings of France, they declared for the policy of the French King, and did what was in their power to advance the cause of the Romish church,

even when they seemed to act for the Huguenots. The nation asked for favour to the French Reformed. The Kings showed it in some measure, and with it an equal or greater measure of favour to the Romanists, from whatever quarter they came. The armament, fitted out and sent from England, to assist the Huguenots in their last political struggles, were rendered singularly inefficient by the will of the conductors of the expeditions, or by the secret orders under which they sailed. Buckingham was evidently in favour of the policy of the French Kings, by the part he took in breaking off the Spanish match for Charles I., and promoting his marriage with the sister of the French King; and by the treachery towards the Huguenots, in sending to the French King their confidential letters to England, particularly the letter of pastor Du Maulin, in which he styles, "England, the bulwark of the Reformation." For that sentence, as the spirit of the letter and of the man, Louis ordered him to leave France, and though mollified towards him, never fully forgave him. The Protestant world adopted it as a synonym of England's glory. It was in acting this double part, towards the Protestants, at home and abroad, and in attempting to govern, without the parliament, or with it, as despotically as Louis XIII. and XIV., of France, that Charles I. was brought to the scaffold, and James II. was compelled to flee the kingdom, and see the crown transferred to William and Mary.

In the space of ten years, commencing some four or five years before that of 1685, it is computed that

about eighty thousand refugees had reached England. From the registers of the churches in London, to which the greater part applied, on reaching England, it appears that during the years 1686, '87, '88, the Consistory, which met at least once a week, was occupied almost entirely in receiving confessions of repentance of those who had been induced to abjure their religion to escape loss and suffering, and had afterwards escaped from France. The ministers heard the relations of suffering, and sin, and repentance, and readmitted them to the faith of their fathers and brethren. On the 5th of March, 1686, fifty refugees from Bordeaux, Saintes, Bolbèc, Havre, Fecamp, Montvilliers, and Tonneins, abjured the Romish religion, to which they had been by force reconciled. In April of the next year, the 30th day, sixty were readmitted. In the month of May, 1687, four hundred and ninety-seven were readmitted to the faith they had seemed to abandon. About a third part of these refugees established themselves in London, the other two-thirds were scattered throughout the kingdom. A colony from Amiens, Tournay and Cambray went to Scotland, and established themselves in Edinborough; their part of the city bears to this day the name Picardy.

Ireland also received colonies. In the fourteenth year of Charles II., in 1674, an act of parliament was passed in Dublin for the naturalization of the refugees. The Duke of Ormand, Viceroy under Charles II., favoured with all his abilities the colonizing the Reformed French in Ireland. His favour

was, in part, the origin of the first colony. His agents, scattered over France, promised to all Protestants an asylum in Ireland, and great facilities for their manufacture of woollens and linens; and also facilities for agriculture. He promised to take charge of their money, and pay 10 per cent. interest, and permit depositors to draw for it when they pleased, the amount deposited not to exceed 50,000 crowns. He guaranteed the free exercise of religion to all that chose to continue in their religion, on the condition that the congregations supported their own pastors. He also offered, as inducement to unite themselves with the Church of England, that he would take on himself the charge of the ministry, for all those who should choose such union.

Those refugees who passed over to England were, from peculiar circumstances, generally poor. A few wealthy families went over; as Count Avaux wrote to the French King, in 1687, that nine hundred and sixty thousand French guineas had been melted down at the London mint, fifty thousand pistoles having been melted in a few months after the revocation. Generally the poor, of necessity, fled to England, as the nearest refuge from the court of France. Collections were taken up for them throughout the kingdom of Great Britain, amounting to about 200,000 pounds; and a "French committee, composed of the Chiefs of the Emigration, was chosen to distribute annually 16,000 pounds sterling among the poor refugees. Another committee of ecclesiastics, under the direction of the Archbishop of Canterbury,

the Bishop of London, and the Lord Chancellor, was charged with the distribution of 1718 pounds sterling, from the treasury, among the poor clergy and their churches. The first report of the French committee, in December, 1687, shows that fifteen thousand five hundred persons were succored the first year, of whom thirteen thousand were in London; the others were in different seaports, where they had disembarked. They were classed as follows: One hundred and forty persons of quality, with their families; one hundred and forty-three ministers; one hundred and forty-four lawyers, physicians, merchants, and burghers; the rest were artizans and mechanics. The amount given to each person was, at the discretion of the committee, according to their necessity. The committee furnished the artizans with the tools for their trades, and with means for support for a time. Six hundred, for whom no place was found convenient in England, were sent to the colonies in America, at the expense of the committee. In 1688, the whole number that applied for aid amounted to twenty-seven thousand; of these divided into seven hundred and fifty families, one hundred and seventy were families of quality, one hundred and seventeen ministers, eighty-seven of professional men.

The benefits received by the English nation from the Huguenot refugees came from three sources, or rather three classes of men—the soldiery, the artizans, and the educated men.

1st. The soldiery. When the Prince of Orange,



in the year 1688, made his entrance into England to receive the crown, in right of his wife, and revolutionize the court from the Romish religion to the Protestant, the army of about fifteen thousand men, that accompanied him was fitted out by loans on Huguenot money; and about one-quarter of the numerical force, and more than one-half of the efficiency was made of refugee Huguenots. Three regiments of infantry, and one squadron of horse, and a large corps of bombardiers and miners, were entirely composed of Frenchmen. Some seven or eight hundred experienced officers were scattered through the other regiments; and some ninety men were in the Prince's guards. Though himself trained to war, the Prince wisely committed the management of his forces to Count Schomberg, who had learned the art of war under Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange, in the same school with Turenne and Frederic William, had served under Louis XIV. and received from Mazarine the brevet of Lieutenant-General of the army of Flanders, being esteemed of equal merit with Turenne; had served in Spain for Louis XIV., with that success that on the death of Turenne he became marshal of the empire; had received permission to retire from France on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; going first to Portugal and then to Holland, and was present at the interview 1686 between the Elector of Brandenburg and William of Orange, then meditating the enterprise which was accomplished in 1688 by aid of the refugee Huguenots; he had on his way to Holland visited England

and reconnoitered her shores and posts, having an understanding with the leaders of the English aristocracy that were weary of their King, James II., and were seeking a revolution. With him were associated many officers of rank and fame in the French armies. Such was the confidence of the Princess Mary in his integrity, that before embarking she appointed him her special protectress should any misfortune befall the Prince. By his council the forces were landed at Torbay; and his skill in managing armies and his acquaintance with political life, contributed not a little to the success of the Prince, who in a short time became William III. of England.

One of the Huguenots, *Sieur D'Estang*, a lieutenant in the lifeguards of William, was chosen by the victor to bear to the ambassador of Louis XIV. the order to leave London in twenty-four hours, and repair to Dover. Another refugee had the charge to conduct him in safety. The ambassador *Barillon* in his last dispatch says: "The Prince of Orange caused an officer of his guards to attend me. I was by no means ill pleased at this. He had it in his power to extricate himself from some slight difficulties, such as one is likely to encounter on similar occasions. He is a gentleman of *Poictou*, *Saint Leger* by name, who is settled in Holland with his wife and children. I have received every sort of civility and good treatment wherever I have passed." The minister *Du Bordieu* solemnly harangued William on his accession to the crown of England; and *Jurieu* wrote to him from Rotterdam, recommending the French refugees

and churches to his care ; to him William replied : “ Rest assured that I will neglect nothing within my power to protect and further the Protestant religion.”

Schomberg was sent to Ireland, and there showed that sagacity in delay, and vigour in action, which ultimately won the whole country for William III. While commending some officers for their good conduct, he writes : “ Your Majesty may have heard from others that the three French regiments of infantry and one of horse do better service than any other.” At the battle of Boyne, fought under the eye of William, Schomberg the younger crossed the river with the French regiments and drove back the eight French and Irish, that defended the passage, and entirely routed them. The King crossed the river, and the action became general. Schomberg the elder led on, shouting, “ Come, friends ! remember your courage and your griefs ! your persecutors are before you !” The old man fell mortally wounded by Tyrconnel’s life-guard ; but as his life was ebbing away, he saw the army of James flying before the victorious William. Schomberg was eighty-two years old, and died in the arms of victory, like young Wolfe at Quebec, in 1759. The victory in each case secured the Protestant ascendancy over the Romish, one in the old world, and one in the new.

The battle of the Boyne, following the very remarkable siege of Derry, discouraged King James II., and he returned to France. The loss of Schomberg, who to his other titles had added that of Peer of England, caused great sorrow throughout the

army. His courage, and probity, and coolness, and sagacity, and quick sense of honour, added to his generosity and self-sacrificing principle, and his readiness to do justice to all, and yield honour to whom honour was due, had made him the most popular man in the army. He had assisted in changing the succession of the crown in Portugal and in England, and bore the title of, the disposer of Kings. Another person of eminence fell in the battle, La Caille-motte Ruvigny, brother of the Marquis De Ruvigny. Having received a mortal wound in the general battle, as he was borne across the river in a dying condition, he cried out to some Huguenot regiments, he met advancing, "Onward, my lads, to glory! onward to glory!" and soon after expired. Walker, the Episcopal clergyman, who had conducted himself so gallantly in the siege of Derry, a siege unsurpassed for the courage, sufferings and endurance of the besieged, being in attendance on King William in this battle, received a shot from which he died in a few moments.

The contest in Ireland, although the cause of James was hopeless, was continued for some time. In the battles on a small scale, but fierce and bloody, the two sons of Count Schomberg, John De Bodt, the Marquis Ruvigny and Rossin Thoyras signalized themselves. Their reputation was not ephemeral. Rossin, of honourable descent, and irreproachable honour, was appointed tutor to the children of the Duke of Portland. Going to reside for a time at the Hague, he resumed his studies of jurisprudence and history. Making his abode at Wesel, he, among

other productions, wrote the History of England, to which he gave the labours of seventeen years.

After the contest for King James was ended in Ireland, thousands of Huguenots colonized in Ireland in the towns of Dublin, Cork, Kilkenny, Waterford, Lisburn, and Portarlington. In 1692 the parliament at Dublin renewed the act of 1674. The oath of supremacy was no longer exacted from the Huguenots; and the free exercise of their religion was guaranteed throughout the Island. The Huguenots in King William's army profited by the bill. The Dublin colony became the bulwark of the Protestant party. The Marquis Ruvigny, who had secured a large tract of land in the neighbourhood of Portarlington, settled a colony of about four hundred Huguenots, and built for them a church and school-house at his own expense. A colony of merchants settled at Cork, and was very prosperous; and for a long time kept separate from the native population. Their part of the city is called, French church street.

The efforts of the king of France to win back the Huguenots, by promotions, and promises, and bribes, ceased, and with it also ceased his efforts to bribe the Lords and Commons of England. Burnet says, that for twenty years scarce a packet crossed the channel from Calais to Dover, without carrying at least 10,000 louis d'or, to be given in some form to the influential members of parliament.

2nd. The benefits from the artisans. From the time the Low countries, or Netherlands, began to be troubled on account of religion, the English court

had offered inducements to manufacturers to emigrate to some part of the realm. In the time of Elizabeth, Protestant workmen from Flanders, Brabant and France, had been established in Sandwich and London for the production of coarse goods, serges, flannels and woollen cloths; these were continually increased, and spread, through all the seaboard towns in England. All fine goods were imported. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes sent about 70,000 manufacturers and their workmen to Great Britain. These were mostly from Picardy and Normandy, on the British channel, from the seaports on the west, and from Lyons. These introduced many new branches of manufacture; of these, that of silk was the most extensive and profitable. The workmen introduced the looms used at Lyons and Tours, and manufactured brocades, Padua silks, watered silks, black velvet, fancy velvet, and stuffs mixed of silk and cotton. A workman by name Mongeorge, brought them the secret lately discovered at Lyons, of glazing taffety. Until this time the English had imported annually about 200,000 livres worth of this kind of goods. The silk manufactories continued to grow till the course of trade was turned from England to the continent, and even France itself.

Great efforts were made by the agents of Louis XIV. to cause the manufacturers of silk to return to France. By large bribes some were taken back; the majority remained in England and gave the silk trade a permanent basis. It has gone on increasing till the pounds of raw silk consumed are counted by

the millions. In ten years the looms of Lyons were decreased from 13,000 to 4,000.

The manufacture of sail cloth was introduced from Normandy and Brittany. In 1669 the value of that article imported was 171,000 pounds sterling. From the same provinces came the manufacture of white linens; previously the annual value of imports from one French port alone were 4,500,000 livres. Peculiar efforts had been made to induce these manufacturers to return to France; the success was of short duration, and these articles became a part of English exports.

Painted linens were first manufactured in England in 1690, and in due time became a source of wealth to the country.

The manufacture of fine hats was introduced from Candebeec, the place most noted for the preparation of furs and fine hats. This manufacture in France was mostly in the hands of the Huguenots, who took the secret of their art to England, where it remained till about the middle of the eighteenth century, when a French hatter worked in England till he had an opportunity of discovering the art, which he took back to France. Until that event, the French nobility, the Italian nobility, and even the Cardinals and the Pope, got their fine hats from England.

Until 1686 the English manufactured only a coarse, dark coloured paper; at that time the production of fine white paper was introduced. The efforts by French agents to destroy this, for a time, were successful. The agent Barillon distributed to the workmen of a single factory 2,300 livres to make them

return to France. Six months afterwards he informed Louis XIV. that he had just expended 1,150 livres to induce the last five French paper makers to leave England. But in a few years the manufactory was restored, and became a source of wealth to England.

According to McPherson, the importation to England from France was diminished in the forty years, between 1683 and 1723, in silks of all kinds, at the annual rate of 600,000 pounds sterling; in all kinds of flax, 500,000; in hats, watches, cloths and glassware, 220,000; paper, 90,000; plain fabrics, 150,000; French wines, 200,000; French candies, 80,000—in all, 1,880,000 pounds sterling.

In the process of improving the manufactures of England permanently, there was some suffering among the old established trades in England. The artisans were compelled to give place to the Huguenots, or to excel, or at least equal them in their productions. Many complaints were loudly uttered against the refugees; and in some cases there were outbursts of violence. In one particular there was a hardship. Some English artisans improved their productions till they equalled those of the Huguenots; and were discouraged in the market to find that the French goods outsold them, though of no better quality. They were compelled to associate some refugees with them to make their productions compete in the markets. The advantage of the Huguenot refugees to England, on the score of manufactories, cannot be reckoned up. Louis XIV. made



England a confirmed Protestant kingdom ; and then made her rich at the loss of his own kingdom, and the ruin of his descendants.

3d. Benefits for educated men. Science and literature received an impulse from the Huguenots. Savary, an old captain in the service of Louis, but a resident in England after the Revocation, obtained a patent in 1698 for a machine, of his invention, for draining marshes, thus contributing to the welfare of the agriculturists. Denis Papin, a celebrated physician and philosopher, was born at Blois, 1647. He studied at Paris, and was a pupil of Huggins. The difficulties thrown in his way in France, as a Huguenot, induced him to listen to an invitation sent him from England, 1681, by means of Boyle, and was nominated member of the Royal Society. After the revocation of the Edict, he emigrated finally. In his experiments on the nature of air, he was joined by Boyle. He published the philosophical transactions. The Academy of Paris, in 1699, named him its correspondent ; and the city of Marburg offered him the Mathematical chair, which he accepted and filled till his death, in 1710. His researches on the production and use of steam, begun in the first years of his exile, led to a treatise—*The art of rendering water very useful by the aid of fire*. He proposed to navigate a vessel without either sails or oars. The project conceived in England, he attempted to carry into effect on the river Fulda. His machine was clumsy, and wanted improvements, which experiment alone could determine. But he gave an impulse to

science in this direction. He was the first who used a piston in the chamber of a pump. He demonstrated the possibility of applying steam to navigation. He also invented the safety-valve, to prevent explosion, which is in use at the present day. His death prevented his perfecting his machine; and a century rolled away before the experiments were renewed and carried on to success by others.

A considerable number of physicians and surgeons emigrated to England, and found employment in the army and navy; and to them England owes principally her remarkable success in surgical instruments.

Many men of letters took refuge in England. Justel, for a time private secretary of Louis XIV., penetrating the designs of the King, sold his library and passed over to England before the Revocation. Boyle, in his journal, said "that M. Justel, who now lives in London, and who is so curious, so learned, so well instructed in everything with regard to the republic of letters, and so well inclined to contribute to the satisfaction of the public, will teach us many things which will do great honour to our enterprize." He was soon made librarian of the King of England. For his rich and abundant conversation, St. Evremond called him a "speaking library." Graverol, of Nismes, a celebrated lawyer and learned man and poet, closes a history of his native town with a sketch of the sufferings of the Protestants of Languedoc, and says to the refugees of Nismes in London, "Let us who are in a country so distant from our own, only for the sake of the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ,

let us study to render our confession and our faith glorious, by a wise and modest conduct, an exemplary life, and an entire devotion to the service of the Lord. Let us remember that we are both the children and fathers of martyrs." Pierre Antoine Motteux, of Rouen, became so familiar with the English language that his translation of Don Quixotte caused that work to be popular in England. Du Maulin, an earnest preacher, went to England before the Revocation, and was the author of a number of religious works of great popularity. Ezekiel Marnot, a noted preacher, published meditations upon the words of Job, "I know that my Redeemer liveth." Delangle, who had been pastor at Charenton, and took refuge in England at the Revocation, was a famous preacher after the French style. Pierre Allix, also a pastor at Charenton, distinguished himself by his simplicity and good taste and appropriate doctrine, in his pulpit addresses. Louis made great efforts to get Allix to return to France. Seignalay wrote to the ambassador at London: "The family of the minister Allix, who is at London, has become converted in good faith at Paris. If you can approach that minister and can persuade him to return to France, with the intention of being converted, you may offer him without hesitation a pension of from 3000 to 4000 livres. And if it should be necessary to go farther, I have no doubt that upon the notice you will give me of it, the King will consent to grant him favours still more considerable. In either case be assured that you will have done a thing most pleasing to his majesty." Allix remained in England.

The two universities, Oxford and Cambridge, each conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

Jacques Saurin preached five years in the church of Threadneedle street. In 1705 he was called to the Hague, and there developed his remarkable talents for preaching. He stands among the first of pulpit orators. Abaddie went first to Berlin ; afterwards he went to England, and accompanied the Duke Schomberg to Ireland, where he saw that old man fall mortally wounded. Returning to England, he was attached to the church of the Savoy. The refugees flocked to hear him, and the English preachers were not unwilling to consider him a model of a preacher. His treatise on the truth of the Christian Religion was held in high repute by the clergy of England. He employed his pen to justify the revolution of 1688, and the conduct of William in taking the crown of his father-in-law. His apology for the new King was considered as entirely satisfactory. In 1694, by choice of the King, he pronounced the eulogy of the Queen. "In vain," says he, "would church and state have interfered in that strife between religion and superstition. In vain would magnanimous prelates have devoted their attention thereto, with earnestness and firmness. In vain would the parliament, that council authorized by the nation and the monarchy, that assembly of sages, assembly of legislators, under the authority of the sceptre, that sacred depository of the rights and privileges of the country, the respected mouth of the people, and the interpreter of its exigencies and will, have laboured to determine those

differences, brought before its august tribunal, if divine grace had not first decreed it in the heart of that Princess. She believed she belonged to God and to the State, and that it was only by an entire devotion to her country and her religion that she could respond to the vocation to which Heaven had called her. Willing to live only for her country and her religion, and ready to die for both one and the other, she accepted the crown ; but she also accepted death, prepared to undergo, and in behalf of a cause so precious and indeed so holy, either good or evil fortune." He died in Ireland in 1724.

The pastor Droz commenced the first literary journal which appeared in Dublin. He long exercised the ministry in that city. He was the founder of the library on College Green.

The descendants of the Huguenots have held their rank in proportion to their numbers, in all the departments of active life in England, from their naturalization to this day. They were kindly received by the nation ; and fully have they repaid that kindness in their contribution to the wealth and greatness and moral grandeur of the kingdom.

The English encouraged emigration of the Huguenots to their colonies in America. Charles II. preferred their residence in the colonies to their remaining in England. He gave outfits and paid the passage of many to South Carolina. William III. encouraged them to colonize in Ireland and America. To those who should colonize in Virginia, he made spe-

cial grants of lands and outfits. He favoured the attempt to found a colony of French artisans on the James river for the benefit of the whole colony, especially the frontiers.

## CHAPTER XV.

The more distant effects of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, on the House of Bourbon and the Nation of France.

COLBERT, the treasurer and financier of Louis XIV, having done for his royal master, what the Duke of Sully did for Henry IV., paying the debts of the nation, increasing the income, meeting the demands of the court, and filling the treasury, died two years before the fatal revocation of the Edict of Nantes. A Huguenot, a patriot, and a lover of the King, and a true statesman, he maintained, at the court of France, that the prosperity of the Huguenots involved the prosperity of France and the glory of the crown. After his death Louis could find no individual of that rare combination of talent, no cabinet of ministers of whatever abilities the members might possess, that could, after the derangement of the trade of France that accompanied and followed the persecution and emigration of the Huguenots, supply the demands of an expensive army, an extravagant court and an ambitious king. The King and the court believed that the confiscation of the estates of the Huguenots would open a rich mine of wealth for the treasury ; and the mournful reports made to him by the collectors of the revenue, for fifteen years after the revocation, stating the derangement of the finances and the cause, could

not prevail with Louis to lessen his expenditures, or even cease from increasing them. The treasury became involved, and in the remaining fifteen years of his reign a national debt began to accumulate, whose weight finally crushed the house of Bourbon. Carefully veiled from sight, cared for by few, unnoticed by most, it went on rapidly increasing for about one century, and then the bonds were cancelled by the blood of Louis XVI., and his queen Marie Antoinette, and hosts of the nobles and gentry of France.

Had there been no unmanageable debt on the nation, Louis XVI. would not have called the States General. Had there been no States General, there had been no gathering of materials for the National Conventions and Assemblies, and for the ferocities of the revolution. The changes necessary and desired, in the administration of the government, might have been accomplished under the amiable, and most pure and humane of the Bourbon kings without bloodshed or violence.

A part of the immense amount of money carried from France by the flying Huguenots, or carefully remitted in course of trade, was put temporarily at the disposal of the States of Holland. These states hitherto penurious in their supplies to their leader, William of Orange, through jealousy, now alarmed by the warlike attitude of the French king, agreed to a loan in advance of the income of finances, to enable the Prince to maintain the integrity of Holland. The terms of the loan were for a given amount annually, for four years, to be expended at the discretion



of the Prince. The amount of money deposited for safe keeping, by the Huguenots, enabled the treasurer to make the advances of funds in less than four years; and the Prince drew the money at discretion, and expended it by the same rule. He proceeded at once to organize that famous army composed of French Refugees and Hollanders, with which he made his descent on England, and took possession of the crown. In three years from the repeal of the Edict of Nantes, William of Orange was on the throne of England, and James II. an exile, and a pensioner of France. All the long cherished hopes and designs of Louis XIV., and the Romish clergy of France, that the kingdom of England and its crown should, like the house of Stuart, become a supporter and appendage of the Church of Rome, were crushed forever; and England became again "the bulwark of the Reformation."

The same alarm, at the cruel doings and ambitious projects of the King of France, that moved the States of Holland to supply the Prince of Orange with money, induced the same States of Holland to listen to the same Prince of Orange; and also moved the governing powers of Austria, Spain, Bavaria, and Savoy, to unite with Holland, in the formation of the League of Augsberg, binding these nations to mutual efforts in resisting the political and military encroachments of the French King. The effects of this league are known by the Treaty of Riswick, in 1698. By it bounds were fixed, beyond which the French King could never extend his empire perma-

nently. In some fifteen years from the repeal of the Edict of Nantes were the great powers of Louis checked. Then followed the great campaigns in the Low countries, in which the art of war seemed to have become perfect. The armies of France were brave; her military leaders of untarnished honour, and the plans of campaigns were resplendent. But Louis XIV. felt the tide of his glory receding as the weight of his years increased. The nations of Europe did not bid him "God speed;" nor did his relations of the house of Austria cheer him on. The Pope himself, sure of the religion of France, and dissatisfied with the political designs of the self-willed Louis, had been a partner of the League of Augsberg.

Massillon, a favourite and admirer of Louis, in his funeral oration, upon the death of the great King, thus speaks of the reverses and afflictions of his last years: "And with what blows didst Thou not, O my God, test his constancy? This great King, whom victory had followed from the cradle, and who counted his successes by the days of his reign, this King, all of whose enterprises announced triumph, and who to that hour encountered no obstacle, had nothing to check his confidence in his schemes; this King, whose conquests had been rendered immortal by eloquence, and by innumerable trophies, and who had nothing to dread, except from quicksands of praise and glory; this King, so long the master of events, had seen every thing by a sudden revolution turn against him. Our enemies take our place; they have only to shew themselves and victory alights upon their banners; they are amazed

by their own success; the valour of our troops seems to have departed to their camps; the very numbers of our armies appear to hasten their defeat; the variety of place only diversifies our misfortunes; so many fields famous for our victories are surprised into serving as the scene of our defeat. The people are aghast; the capital is threatened; want and death seemed to be allies with our enemies against us, every evil to befall us; and God, who was preparing a resource for us, had not yet disclosed it.

“But the time of trial was not yet passed. Thou hast stricken our people, O my God, as David; Thou hast stricken them, as Thou didst strike him in his children. He had sacrificed to Thee his glory; and Thou claimest the farther sacrifice of the blood of his children. What do I see here? and what a touching spectacle will it ever be to our posterity when they behold it on the pages of history! God scatters desolation and death throughout the royal house. How many august heads are struck; how many supporters of the throne overturned! The judgment begins with the death of the first born, whose goodness gave us the promise of happy days. (The Dauphin, the heir apparent.)

“And here we utter our prayers and shed our tears over his dear and august remains. Still there yet remained something to ourselves. But our tears had not ceased to flow, when a lovely Princess, (Adelaide of Savoy, wife of the Duke of Burgundy,) who relieved Louis of the cares of royalty, is snatched, in the most beautiful season of her age, from all the

charms of life, from the hopes of the crown, and from the tenderness of the people, whom she had already begun to love and cherish as her subjects. Thy vengeance, O my God, demands such victims. Her last sigh breaths grief and death to her husband, (the Duke of Burgundy, the Dauphin's son and heir.) The ashes of the young Prince hasten to be united to those of his wife. He only survives her long enough to know what he had lost; and we lose in him the hopes of that wisdom and piety which would have kept alive, to other generations, the reign of the best of Kings, and the ancient days of peace and innocence. Forbear! O my God! forbear! Wilt Thou show Thy wrath and Thy power against the child whose eyes have just seen the light? Wilt Thou dry up the source of a royal race? and the blood of Charlemange and Louis, which has fought so often for the glory of Thy name; has it become before Thee as the blood of Ahab and of the impious Kings, whose posterity Thou hast scattered far and wide?

“The sword is still applied, my brethren. God is deaf to our tears, to the afflictions and piety of Louis. The spring-flower, whose early time was so brilliant, has been gathered. (The Duke of Bretagne, eldest son of the Duke of Burgundy, the grandson of the Dauphin, and great grandson of Louis XIV.) And if relentless death is content only to menace the infant, who still clings to the heart, that precious relic which God is disposed to reserve for us in the midst of our calamity, (the brother of the Duke of Bre-

tagne, then a child, and sick, who was afterwards Louis XV.,) it is only to close this sad and bloody scene by taking from us the only son of three Princes, who remained to guard his infant years, and to guide and to support him on the throne. (The Duke of Berry, brother of the Dauphin, and great uncle of the heir apparent.) In the midst of the mournful wreck of the royal house, Louis remained firm in the faith. The breath of the Lord passes over his numerous race, and it disappears like the marks on the sands of the shore. Of all the Princes that surrounded him, and who constituted the glory and light of his crown, there remains but a single speck on the point of being put out."

The orator, Massillon, proceeds to denounce the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, as an event "which pity and humanity will disown, and which ought to be effaced from our annals." But he praises him for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, "by which heresy disappears, and is gone to hide itself in the darkness from whence it came, or to pass beyond the seas."

The long reign of Louis XIV. had its peculiar literature: the culmination of the religious literature of France under the Bourbon line, founded on and embracing all the previous literature of the kingdom, as a tower on a pile of rocks, or as a distillation of ingredients of power collected through passing ages. It bears the name, given it by Voltaire, of "The Age of Louis XIV." In all the descriptions given of this age and this literature, by French writers,

there has been some grand omission. Voltaire either did not know it at all, or would not tell it all; and Guizot did not know it all, or would not tell it all in his dissertation on civilization in France. All make an omission of works on the literature, the meaning, the morals, of revelation, the communication from God to man, addressed to his intellect and to his heart, presenting the highest, best, sweetest things mortals can conceive. Those writings that maintained the doctrines and forms and worship of the national religion, the religion of the Romish church, the productions of Bourdalaue, and Bossuet, and Massillon, Fletcher and Fenelon, and held up to public admiration, for their style and spirit, their argument and lofty and refined thought. But the writings of their great opponents, or rather those whom the King summoned the greatest talents in his kingdom, or in the whole Romish church, to oppose and put down; those writers that, by their clearness and strength, and argument, and style, and feeling, gathered and kept together a mass of people in France, the bone and sinew of the kingdom, against all the inducements of the King and court, and the arguments and persuasions of the court writers, those master spirits and their works are not named in such a manner and form as to convey a distinct idea of their existence, much less of their excellency. When the ablest writers of the National Church could not put down their writings by calling attention to something better; and their orators, praised and honoured, to the utmost ability of the court and church, could not prevent the

King from pronouncing the Huguenot, Du Bosc, the most eloquent man in his kingdom, and the courtiers were ordered to make known to him the King's admiration, and win him if possible to the King and court; when all expedients to set aside the writings and preachers of the Huguenots failed, then by an order of the court bearing date—the writings of these Reformers were collected with the greatest care and particularity, and burned; and then by another edict, bearing date 1685, the preachers, the authors as well as orators of the Huguenots, were banished the kingdom, under the penalty of death if they returned without particular permission. Copies of writings that stirred the hearts of Frenchmen to endure untold evils, were hunted out with a vigilance that left no vestiges in France except perhaps in the mountains of the Cevennes; they could be found only in foreign lands, England, Holland, Switzerland and some parts of Prussia, countries that appreciated the Huguenots. What the King would not tolerate, he strove to destroy. The writings that confuted Bossuet and Bourdalaue, and stood in the way of the King's desired unity of the church, were, as far as the King could accomplish his wish, annihilated. And the literature of France became of one texture, and colour, and stripe; every production, from the sonnet to the pages of history, held forth but one subject, the supremacy of the King in church and state. For a time poets and essayists and orators were rewarded for pages that set forth in pompous style the grandeur of the great King. But figures and

epithets of praise were exhausted, and the literature of the age of Louis XIV. began to wane with the advancing years of the King. There was comparatively little in it to live, after he had gleaned out that which employed the intellect of the kingdom. Europe had no interest in it; and posterity regards it as the marks and remains of a deluge that swept away independence of thought.

The literature of France under Louis XV., the great grandson and successor of Louis XIV., who came to the crown in 1715, and in his sixth year, differed much from that of the age admired by Voltaire. The King and the court offered little for the public to praise. The poets had no inspiring event, historians few subjects, eulogists no exciting theme. The National Church required no defenders, for the King and clergy had taken from the people all reading and hearing that opposed the Romish creed and forms. The subject of religion and morals as emanating solely from God, and to be drawn in all their fundamentals and peculiarities from the Scriptures as his revelation, were not before the minds of Frenchmen; these were to be drawn from the teachings of philosophy, the decrees of councils and the traditions of the church. The councils and antiquity could alone interpret for them the Scriptures.

The active French mind turned to other subjects. Every thing led them back to God, God as seen in His works, God as a subject of abstract thought or analytical enquiry. The idea of God once revealed to the mind, had become distorted and misappre-



hended, but it was never eradicated. God, in His revelation, was not a subject of discussion by Frenchmen; but God in His works, God, the life of literature, as of all the natural world, God, as He appeared to them in nature, was more lovely than the God who was said by the court and clergy to be shadowed forth by the national creed and worship.

The national religion had become in the minds of Frenchmen a national superstition, in the Roman sense of the word. Religion and superstition, something belonging to the nation, whose mysteries were to be interpreted by the King and court, the interpretation in whatever form, always moulded by the King and court. Scholars maintained there was a natural religion behind the national religion or superstition. They claimed to be the interpreters of natural religion. They professed to find her dictates in the heavens above, and in the earth beneath, and called on astronomy and all the forms of natural philosophy, and all the new discoveries in America, and the islands of the ocean to give in their testimony about God and the perfection of natural religion. They called the national superstition, or religion of France, revealed religion, the religion of the Bible and of Rome. The dictates and principles of natural religion, gathered from the investigation of the works of God, which they called nature, was promulgated in romances, and tales, and essays, and histories of things discovered and done in America, and also in the volumes of the severer studies. Men practised as much of the forms of the national religion as should

give them a standing at court and at Rome; and turned the force of their talents to the illustration of the religion of nature. The vigour, the vivacity, and the enterprize of the French intellect was fully employed in endeavouring to find in nature the true idea of God they did not see in Rome, and were forbidden to search out in the word of God's revelation. They were turned away from the brightness of the Father's glory, and express image of His person, to search among the footprints of His goings for the beautiful face and glorious spirit of their God.

The Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, published by Ephraim Chambers, in 1728, in London, by its ability and extent of research, attracted general attention, and appeared on the continent in Italian and French translations. A proposition to reprint the translation in France, resulted in the plan of a more extended work to be conducted by Diderot and D'Alembert, to be embraced in ten quarto volumes. The first volume appeared in 1751. After the seventh volume which appeared in 1757, the publication in Paris was forbidden, and the remaining volumes, which were increased to ten of text and eleven of plates, making twenty-eight in the whole, appeared under a title-page to which Neufchatel was affixed as the place of publication. Four additional volumes of text and one of plates were afterwards added. This work was popular from the commencement. Its introduction, written by D'Alembert, was considered the master piece of literature of the age. The government often interrupted the progress of the work, on account of its evident

hostility to the national religion, and the unlimited exercise of royal power. The assaults were not made openly and direct. The principles and authority of natural religion were proposed and defended; and the happiness of people under governments of very limited authority was graphically delineated. As the work progressed, its popularity increased; and its influence was unbounded and for a time resistless.

With D'Alembert and Diderot were associated Voltaire, Rousseau, Turgot, Helvetius, Duclos, Condillet, Mably, Buffon, La Harpe, Marmontel, Raynal, Morellet, St. Lambert and many others of less notoriety; they were universally known as the Encyclopedists. The first two volumes published in 1751, were by decree of the royal council suppressed. The suspension being withdrawn, five new volumes appeared in 1757, and the work had four thousand subscribers. The court and clergy opposed, and were assisted by the parliament of Paris; the University of Paris called the Sorbonne and the theatre to their aid. These all in various ways defended the religion of France and the prerogative of the court. Volumes were written, sermons preached and plays acted to check the progress of the new ideas of the Encyclopedia, and volumes were written in various forms to defend them. After the publication of seven volumes the work was again suspended, and D'Alembert withdrew from the editorship and Diderot became the chief manager. The writers were exposed to the wrath of the clergy and the court, and escaped pains and penalties for heresy by admitting the national religion

as the superstition of France, but maintaining the authority and excellence of natural religion ; and compelling their opposers to admit that either the superstition of France was in agreement with natural religion, or if opposed to it to show the difference, and on which side the superiority lay. The arguments used by the famous writers in the time of Louis XIV., and directed against the Huguenots, were hurtful to the cause of national religion and the prerogative of the court. They appealed to the authority of councils and decisions of antiquity against the arguments drawn by the Huguenots from the Scriptures ; and the court and clergy had endorsed these arguments as true. The Bible and its decisions being thrown out, the Encyclopedists appealed to nature and her laws and dictates as the guide of men in all things : that antiquity had misunderstood nature ; and that the investigator of nature was the interpreter of God. Had Louis XV. or Louis XVI, possessed the capability and will of Louis XIV., the Encyclopedists would have been treated as heretics, disbelievers in the National Church and prerogative of the crown, and have been compelled to expiate their crime by imprisonment and fines and banishment or violent death. In fact they pretended to believe that they must escape for their lives. Voltaire urged Diderot to flee from home to the court of Prussia.

In this juncture France felt the necessity of the writings of the Huguenots, that Louis XIV. and his clergy had so carefully destroyed ; and there were no classes of men to come forth and restate their argu-

ments in popular French, and renew the contest with the national church and the court, for the divine right of government in Church and State, moulded and directed by the expressed will of the God of nature. There were no men that could state advantageously that the study of nature led to God, and prostrated the whole race of men at His throne, beseeching from Him some communication from heaven that should reveal the doings of the celestial court, and its connexion with earth, on which the footprints of the Almighty were so marked and so abundant. There were no writers that had the favourable ear of France, that could show to the nation, that the God of nature had made a communication to man that anticipated his wants and enquiries; and that its pages were open to all; able to instruct all, and revealing the will of the infinite mind about the doings of men in time and in eternity; that men might read it in their closets, might ponder its teachings, might speak of them to their families and neighbours, and publish their convictions to the world. There were none to show them the amazing difference in contrasting the religion of nature with the national superstition of France, and contrasting the teachings of nature with the revealed will of God; that there was a contrast in the first case, but a blessed argument in the latter; that the God of nature and of revelation, did not speak a different language, but uttered the wisdom and glory of the same powerful God. France became infidel; it was a necessity entailed upon her by her kings, and the clergy of Rome.

There were three estates, or classes, that had some claim to legislative powers; the nobles, the Romish clergy, and the middle classes, between the nobles and the poor, that held small possessions of land, were the mechanics, the manufacturers, and merchants of France. In the time of Louis XIV. the nobles were very generally assimilated to the court; the poor that ranked below the third estate, were generally of the national church; the third estate by banishing the Huguenots was forced into the national church. The Huguenots had consisted of nobles, the mass of the third estate, with some converts from the clergy, and the very poor. The exiles that left France in the days of Louis XIV., were, the smaller part of them, from the nobility, the larger part, by far, from the third estate, the bone and sinew of France. In that third estate, deprived of the preaching and literature of the Huguenots, infidelity spread widely. Enchanted with the discoveries in the various departments of nature, unconvinced by the reasonings and services of the Romish clergy, and deprived of the teachings of the Huguenots, they embraced the teachings of the professed disciples of nature. The real strength of the house of Bourbon had always been in the Huguenots; Henry IV., Louis XIII., and Louis XIV., each confessed publicly and put it on record that they owed their crowns to the fidelity and strength of the Huguenots. And it is well known that the Huguenots made it a matter of conscience both of politics and religion, to cherish their rightful king, hoping for redress for all wrongs from

the king's conviction of duty, and from the providence of God. Louis XV. and XVI. found that Louis XIV. had deprived them of that stronghold upon the third estate without increasing their real power in the estate of the nobles or the clergy. And in this loss was involved the fatal weakness of the crown.

The last words of Louis XIV. to his great-grandson and successor were, "My child, you are about to become a great king. Do not imitate me, either in my taste for building, or in my love of war. Endeavour to live in peace with the neighbouring nations. Render to God all that you owe Him, and cause His name to be honoured by your subjects. Strive also to relieve the burdens of your people, which I myself have been unable to do." In these burdens on the people was the weakness of the crown. The young king did not understand the danger that lurked in his path. By the advice of his courtiers he increased the debt of the nation. Its magnitude finally alarmed him; he trembled lest its payment should be demanded in his day, and knew not how to shield his successor from the impending ruin.

The literature of Louis XVI. was the fiery literature of the great French revolution; it need not now be counted or weighed. It was the consequence of the literature of Louis XV., as that followed the literature of Louis XIV. History says that the finances of France were so hopelessly involved, that a meeting of the States General was called for; an event which had not taken place since the year 1614,

and to its wisdom when assembled, May 5th, 1789, at Versailles, was committed the arduous work of re-establishing the depressed finances of the kingdom. By order of the King, the number of the first estate, the nobles, was fixed at three hundred; that of the second estate, or the clergy, also at three hundred; that of the third estate, or the middle classes of men, at six hundred, a number equal to both the higher estates. A quarrel immediately ensuing, about the powers of the three estates, the third estate, on the 17th of June, declared itself a National Assembly. On the 23d of June the King dismissed the Assembly of the States. The third estate refused to be dissolved, and their leader, Mirabeau, replied to the official that bore the summons, "Tell your master that we sit here by the power of the people; and that we are only to be driven out by the bayonet." The King yielded; and at his request, the members of the first and second estates took their seats. The revolution was now begun. July 14th, the Bastille was destroyed. "It is an insurrection!" said the alarmed King to the Duke Rocheforecold. "No, sire," said the Duke; "it is a revolution."

In the progress of the revolution, to the overthrow of all the political and religious fabric of the French government, one fact is to be observed: the third estate held the interest of France, whether of the King, or nobles, or clergy or the middle classes, or the poor, in its hands. That middle class was once, to a very large degree, under the influence of the doctrines, political and religious, of the Huguenots;



and in times of danger the crown had found its deliverance come from that estate. Now that same estate, in a great measure free from Huguenot influence, and in just the same degree, was infidel, following natural religion, and opposed to the national superstition, and to the authority of the King. As a consequence of the doings of Louis XIV., Louis XVI., second King in succession, found himself in the hands of enemies, with whom he must compromise, or be crushed, instead of friends by whom he would have been cherished, in those concessions of authority he made for the peace of the kingdom; in the hands of infidels, who thirsted for the blood of kings and nobles, instead of believing Huguenots, who had poured out their treasures and their blood for the house of Bourbon as the legitimate kings of France.

Churches and nations, like individuals, revoke their own decisions, and condemn their past actions. Time, in its silent progress, with resistless argument, works changes in opinions, after passion is hushed and error has lost its power to govern. When the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, in 1572, was announced to the world, the Romish clergy of France rejoiced; and the Pope, as head of that church throughout the world, approved it; and by a special medal, representing the slaughter of the Huguenots, made it a notable event in the history of the church. The parliament of Paris followed his example, and on their medal engraved the words, "Piety aroused justice." In about one century and a half, Massillon,

pronouncing the eulogium of Louis XIV., and praising him for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, thus speaks of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's: "Even by the recollection and injustice of that bloody day, which ought to be effaced from our annals, which piety and humanity will always disown, which in the effort to crush heresy, under one of our late Kings, gave to it new fire and fury, and fumed, if I may venture to say it, from its blood, the seed of new disciples." All humane men agree with the orator in his bold assertions, reversing the decision of the Queen mother, the King, the nobles of France, the parliament of Paris, the Romish clergy of France, and even of the Pope himself.

The same orator, Massillon, exhausts his rhetoric in praising Louis XIV. for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and closes his adulation: "Heresy, I say, upheld by so many bulwarks, falls at the first blow aimed by Louis for its destruction. It disappears and is gone, either to hide itself in the darkness from which it came, or to pass beyond the seas, and to bear with its false gods its rage and its bitterness to foreign lands. At length France, to the eternal glory of Louis, is cleansed of this scandal; the contagion no longer penetrates itself in families. There is no longer a field or a pastor; and if fear, in the first instance, made hypocrites, instruction has made those, that came after them, sincere professors of the true faith. Events speak for me, and the seditious howl of heresy, driven out of the kingdom, which has reverberated throughout Europe, and the cries of

false prophets scattered abroad, who aroused every where, after the fashion of their fathers, the signal of war and of vengeance against Louis, have made to our hands an eulogium on his zeal. Specious reasons of State! in vain you lay before Louis the precautions of human wisdom; the strength of the monarchy weakened by the escape of so many citizens; the course of commerce obstructed, either by the absence of their industry, or the secret deportation of their wealth; the neighbouring nations, the protectors of heresy, ready to arm in its defence. Danger fortifies his zeal."

Bossuet, in his funeral oration on the death of Michael Le Tellier, delivered January 25th, 1686, gives utterance to a rhetorical eulogy of Louis for the acts passed a few months preceding: "But our fathers had not seen, as we have done, an inveterate heresy fall at a single blow; the erring flocks return in crowds, and our churches too small to receive them; their false teachers abandoning them, without awaiting the order, and happy in assigning to them their banishment as their excuse; the universe astonished in beholding an event so novel, the more certain mark, as well as the most legitimate exercise of authority, and the worth of the Prince more recognized and more revered than his authority. Touched with such a marvel, let us pour out our hearts in praise of the piety of Louis; and let us say to this new Constantine, this new Theodosius, this new Charlemauge, that which the six hundred and thirty fathers said of old in the council of Chalcedon:

‘You have made stable our faith; you have exterminated the heretics; it is the signal achievement of your reign; it is its distinguished characteristic. Through you heresy no longer exists. God alone could work such a wonder. King of heaven, preserve the King of the earth. Such is the prayer of the Churches; such is the prayer of the Bishops.’” Of Le Tellier, the Chancellor, who prepared the bill of revocation, and in signing it performed the last act of his official life, sinking under the weight of years and infirmities, he gives a graphic picture of his last act, his increasing sickness and succeeding death as worthy of a great Chancellor performing a great act, and says: “God reserved for him the accomplishment of this great work of religion; and he said, in sealing the revocation of the famous Edict of Nantes, that after that triumph of faith, and so bright a monument of the piety of the King, he had no further concern about the ending of his days. This was the last word which he pronounced in the functions of his charge, a word worthy of crowning so glorious a service.”

And now, with the light of a century and a half shining on the revocation of that Edict, and pondering the bitter trials that, in about one century from that event, came upon the unhappy Bourbon, Louis XVI., grandson of Louis XV., and who was great grandson of the Louis that styled himself “the State,” and by Massillon and Bossuet was proclaimed the exterminator of heresy, we listen to hear some eminent Frenchman speak of the revocation as a foul

stain upon the historic records of France, and some ecclesiastic call for piety and humanity to expunge it from the pages. Massillon spoke the feeling of his age, and of all posterity, when he condemned the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. He uttered the voice of history when, in the funeral oration over the Dauphin, whose death preceded that of his father, Louis XIV., he speaks of William, Prince of Orange, the great opposer of Louis, and protector of the Huguenots. "A truce long sought at that time by our enemies, had just disarmed all Europe. The King, (Louis XIV.,) in the midst of successes, had preferred the happiness of nations to victories, which are ever the price of blood, and the peril of souls. When from the depths of Holland there came a new vessel of the wrath of the Lord, destined by God for the dethroning of the most sacred Kings, and to be the instrument of His vengeance on States and kingdoms: a Prince profound in his views, skilled in forming leagues and uniting master spirits, more fortunate in making war than in fighting, more formidable in the security of the cabinet than at the head of armies; an enemy whose hatred of the French name had made capable of forming grand schemes and of executing them; one of those geniuses born to move people and sovereigns at their will; a great man, had he never desired to be a King."

Massillon and Bossuet spoke the feelings and sentiments of France and the Romish church in their praise of Louis XIV. for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, while the excitement of that novel trans-

action was at its height. The biographers of Louis XVI., and the historians of the French revolution, sketch, in colours of fire, the terrible sufferings of the court and nobles of France, with multitudes of the third estate, connected with and following the substitution of the infidel philosophy in the place of the doctrine of the Reformed; and calling into the States General a host of infidels instead of a band of Huguenots—bitter enemies in the place of friends. The unhappy Louis XVI., like his ancestors Henry IV. and Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., looked to the third estate for refuge. His ancestors found it, and said they reigned by the Huguenot power. He found it not, for his ancestors had driven the Huguenot power from France. He made concessions of privileges; he agreed to limitations of kingly power, such as were always plead for by the Huguenots; but the infidels of the day knew not what limitation of authority, or what government they desired; they panted for the destruction of the court and the nobility, of every man whose wealth or office made him great. The King was lost. No effort of his own could have saved him. He might have been as heroic as he was courageous; but without a faithful French population he could not escape. With a band of friends like the Huguenots, in the place of the infidels, he could, in all human probability, have paid the debts of the court, restored the confidence of the country, filled the treasury, and reigned in the hearts of all patriotic Frenchmen, a limited monarch, but a powerful King.

There were some in France that thought right and felt right about Louis XVI. and the nation, in those troublesome times. They could wield a pen, and were not afraid to peril life in a good cause; though few in number, they were ready to serve the King; and did serve him. They failed to save him; but made their names immortal in the failure. It was not their fault that their numbers were too small to accomplish their hearts desire—the renovation of France under a Bourbon King, limited in his authority, and guided in government, by constitutional law. All Europe, all the civilized world, would now rejoice had their numbers been sufficient to meet successfully the opposers of religion and sound government, in either the States General, or the various conventions or assemblies, that followed in succession, in all of which the truth of sentiments was tested only by the number of votes that could be brought to their support. They were, unhappily, a minority; too small a minority, where a majority might have been, and ought to have been.

Notwithstanding all efforts of Louis XIV. to drive the Huguenots to submission or to exile, there remained in the mountainous regions of France, particularly in the Cevennes, many Huguenots of the poorer classes. No efforts, in any of the “wars of the Cevennes,” could drive these people from their religion or their country. Too poor to emigrate, too brave to capitulate, they would neither flee nor submit. In the years that have rolled on, from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, till the

bloody revolution in France subsided into a stable government, these people maintained their position, and increased in numbers, exhibiting a sagacity, a resolution, a perseverance, and a purity of morals, unsurpassed in the histories of the mountaineers of Hungary or Savoy. The world knew little of them; and knows little now. The record of the bright examples of piety, of self-devotion in the ministry and in the army, in the leaders and the private families, is yet to be opened to the admiration of the good, and condemnation of the wicked. There was, among others, Antoine Court, whose life and labours might form a study for candidates for the ministry in all ages. His probity and ability as a minister of the gospel, to sway the minds and hearts of mountaineers were well known. The regent of France, perplexed by the intrigues of the Spanish court, applied to this preacher to aid the government in disabusing the minds of the people in the south of France, and in preserving their loyalty. The knowledge that this patriotic man had already, as far as his influence extended, put an end to all fears from the influence of Spain, touched the heart of the regent. She commended him to Louis XV. That heartless King suffered the Huguenot to be denationalized. Court retired to Lausanne, and spent years in conducting a seminary for the preparation of young men to be martyr ministers to the Reformed in France. Many went from his seminary, fully aware of their danger, and preached and suffered among the Reformed. His own son returned to France,



when his education was completed; and under the name of Gebelin, or Count De Gebelin, won the favour of the court of Louis XV. by his writings in favour of his oppressed countrymen, using freely the materials prepared by his father. Had there been more like him to have written for the truth in France, Louis XVI., by whom he was admired, and in whose reign he died, might have descended in honour to his grave. Next to these was Paul Rabout, whose influence as a Huguenot preacher was unbounded in Languedoc, whom the Romish Bishop of Nismes claimed as a friend and adviser. In winter and in summer he assembled crowds of hearers, numbered by thousands, in the fortresses of the Cevennes to attend upon his ministry. His favourite place for winter, called the Hermitage, was on the banks of the little torrent of Cadereau; for summer, he occupied an ancient quarry, named Leque, approachable by only two narrow paths. For twenty years his voice was heard in these retirements. The irritated Governor of the province set a price upon his head; and the minister passed his nights in the grottos of the mountains, and in the sheepfolds.

The Marquis Paulini held him in the highest regard, won by his heroism and confidence, and presented for him, to Louis XV., a memorial that touched the heart of the King, and procured for the people of Languedoc great relief. By the assistance of Lafayette, his son obtained from Louis XVI. the edict of 1787, and the old man returned to Nismes and reared a dwelling in a street which yet bears part of his name,

and is called the street of Monsieur Paul. His son, Jean Paul Rabout, held a still higher position. Having finished his education at Lausanne, he embraced the Profession of his father, and returned to France under the name of St. Etienne. After the example of his father, he inculcated toleration, submission to the laws, love to the King, and forgiveness of injuries. The productions of his pen were highly esteemed. His *Old Man of the Cevennes*, showing the effects of the persecuting laws of France in an imaginary biography, in which all the oppressive laws were correctly stated, and their cruel influence truly and boldly set forth, was widely circulated and had great influence both on the mass of the people and in the literary world. And when the Bishop of Nismes, who had been a personal and open friend of his father, died, he prepared and published an eulogy expressing the virtues and excellencies of that prelate. Upon reading it, Le Harpe, the celebrated critic, exclaimed, "Behold true eloquence: that of the soul and sentiment. It can easily be seen that every thing which emanates from the pen of the author is inspired by the virtues which he celebrates."

He went to Paris in 1787, and by the aid of Lafayette, Malasebes, and the Marquis of Breuil, obtained from the King those concessions to the Protestants, under which his father became a citizen of Nismes. He was a member of the States General convoked in 1789, of the third estate, representing his constituents in the south of France. He was conspicuous in that assembly.

In the National Convention which assembled in 1792, Pétion was chosen president, and of the six secretaries, St. Etienne was one. On the trial of the King he opposed the proceeding of the Convention. He was in favour of a monarchy limited by constitutional law ; and on the debates about the death of the King, he spoke in favour of propositions that would eventually save the King's life, closing his address with ; " You seek reasons of policy. These reasons are in history. Those people of London who had so strongly urged the execution of the King, were the first to curse his judges, and to fall prostrate before his successor. When Charles II. ascended the throne, the city gave him a magnificent entertainment ; the people indulged in the most extravagant rejoicings, and ran to witness the execution of those same judges whom Charles sacrificed to the manes of his father. People of Paris, parliament of France, have you heard me ?"

The King was condemned by three hundred and sixty one votes out of seven hundred and twenty ; a majority of one vote deciding his fate. Where were the Huguenots then ? Had the Duke of Orleans voted for the King instead of against him ; or had two more voters come in from the absentees, as one man arose from his sick bed and came and voted for his King, had two more votes come in, France had been spared the disgrace of killing her king without cause.

St. Etienne was president of the National Convention in 1793 ; and at the close of the year perished

with the Girondins on the scaffold. These preachers were brave men ; but infidel literature prevailed, and the Revolution went on in blood.

The name of Pierre Joseph Marie Barnave, a Huguenot from Grenoble, ought not to be passed over in the list of those that honoured the principles of his party. The son of a rich attorney, and following the profession of his father ; of fine manners, and high reputation for talents, he was sent by his constituents to the States General, while not yet twenty-one years of age. He signalized himself by his determined spirit and activity in redressing grievances and limiting the perogatives of the crown, and by his graceful elocution and fervid eloquence. Mirabeau, the leader and great orator of the Assembly, admired his grace of diction and sagacity of analysis, though used sometimes with stunning power against himself, and said of him, " It is a young tree, which however will mount high if it be left to grow." On the question of the relative authority of the King and the Assembly in declaring war and making peace, he was for restricting the King more than Mirabeau. Chapelier proposed a compromise, which was carried, that the King should make an express proposition to the Assembly respecting war or peace, and the Assembly should deliberate and make its decisions, which the King was to sanction. He agreed with Mirabeau, the Lameths and others that the sanctity of the King's person should be inviolate. They thought a monarchy limited by constitutional laws, assisted by a legislative assembly, the best government for France ; and

that when existing abuses were remedied and the wants of the nation provided for and its honour vindicated, the Revolution was complete.

Barnave was sent with Petion and Letou Marbourg to conduct back to Paris the royal family arrested in their flight at Varennes. He and Petion rode in the royal carriage. Petion, sitting between the King's sisters and opposite the royal pair, disgusted them all by his affectedly rude manners and harsh expressions of his ultra principles. Barnave sat between the King and Queen, and won their esteem by his politeness. "They were mutually surprised, each to find the other what they were." On reaching Paris, after a slow journey of eight days in hot weather and a dusty road, cheered only by the polite attentions of the young man, the royal family expressed in strong terms their admiration of Barnave, and their confidence in his integrity. The King called on him to prepare his answer to the committee appointed by the Assembly "to take the declarations of the King and Queen," respecting their flight; it remains on record "a model of reasoning, address and dignity." At the close of the session for which he was chosen, Barnave accepted the office of mayor of his native city; and married the daughter of a lawyer, receiving as a dowry seven hundred thousand livres. From this position of influence and enjoyment, he was hurried to Paris during the reign of terror under Robespierre, on an accusation at the bar of the military tribunal of having connived with the court; and on the 29th of November, 1793, was condemned to the guillotine.

The literature and philosophy of the Encyclopedists triumphed. The reign of terror was complete. The desperation of atheism affrighted the nation, and drove the Assembly at last to acts of moderation. But the house of Bourbon was swept away. And when, after years of revolutionary tempest, a scion was transplanted to the throne of France, it was speedily torn up and cast away. The Bourbons rejected their friends, and the nation in turn rejected them.

The events in the life of an individual, involving the actions and feelings and happiness of others may form a drama for contemplation, full of interest and instruction, illustrating principles of morals, religion and politics, in private and public life. Real dramas and fictitious ones have been prepared with care and form a part of the literature of nations. Families, in their succession, crowns and kingdoms in their course, have given subjects for able pens to present to coming generations for instruction, encouragement, and warning.

Parts of the lives of some men have been of a tragic character ; by their actions and spirit others have been inflamed, and have been sharers of the catastrophe, whether for dishonour or for glory. The numbers involved may be great, and the interests immense. A fair portrature of the actors and representation of the varied scenes, with a delineation of the events that cluster at the grand conclusion, form a tragedy in private or public life. These, by careful examination and selection, may be set forth in the

forms of the deepest interest. The real tragedies of human life have been the fruitful spring of the finest human literature, and have afforded the strongest arguments and persuasives to a pure and elevated life.

The same tragic series of events may be found in the successive generations of a family that has risen, and multiplied, and prospered, and passed away in splendour or in shame. The example of honour or of infamy became more impressive from the numbers and high influence of the actors. History abounds in such clusters of human passions and sufferings; they form the charm of history. Years in the life of a man are swallowed up in his drama or his tragedy; generations cast in their offerings, the essence of their life, for the grand tragedy of a family.

Crowns have their origin; the royal family rises, has its day of glory, and passes away. It may leave little for history to record beyond the common lot of men; they were born, they lived, and suffered, and died. The great events of a royal house may be highly tragic, and be consummated in events that shall astonish mankind, giving examples to all royal houses and kingdoms, and all nations and people, of the certainty with which principles in morals, and religion, and politics, and domestic arrangements work out their proper end. The streams have been running, and running, and winding, but enter the ocean at last; the volcano has been long gathering, but breaks forth at the appointed hour; the stately tree has been

mouldering in the secret fibres, and having withstood hurricanes, falls before a lesser breeze.

Instances have occurred in kingdoms, and are on record in the sacred volume, and in human histories, in which the unity of principles of action, of purposes to be accomplished, and passions and affections cherished, have been as complete in the generations of a royal family as in a single individual of powers and opportunities for influence; and the catastrophe as completely defined, which closes the history and example of a royal family or a kingdom, as that which completes the tragedy of a single life. The Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Babylonian, the Persian kingdoms are held up by the prophets of God as each having completed a great series of events in the grand history of the human race, each concluding with a fitting catastrophe, exposing to eternal infamy the principles by which they were wrought out. The prophet Daniel sketches most graphically the tragic events in the world's history from the fall of Babylon to the fall of Jerusalem; and the apostle John, in his Apocalypse, brings before his readers, in images of unequalled splendour and terror, the great tragic events to fill up the undefined space of time between the ascension of Christ and the gathering of the redeemed people into glory, when the heavens and the earth that now are, have passed away with a great noise, and there are new heavens and a new earth in which dwelleth righteousness. Uninspired men have been trying to do the same thing, according to their several ability, for nations and kingdoms and crowns and families and



individuals whose life had passed or was passing, and accomplished their work with various success, each adding something to the accumulated mass of human experience of the ways of man dealing with his fellow-man, overruled by the eternal God.

This is human history. And the nearer it approaches to the simple truth, the more impressive does it become of the imperishable principles that must govern human life. No tragedy that is a fiction, or a mixed production of fiction and fact can be as effective for good as that which is true. Imagination cannot form a group more terrible or more lovely than what has already been, or shall yet be in actual existence.

Perhaps no portion of a nation's history, since the Christian era, will better exemplify the tragic events of life as seen in individuals, and families, crowns and royal houses, and masses of men, than that which records the doings of the Huguenots and the royal house of Bourbon, running through two centuries and a half, from the untimely death of Henry IV., to the melancholy end of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette. Here will be found unity of principle and purpose as unchanged and pervading in a royal family and in a community of people through generations as ever appeared in a single individual and his associates. In the Huguenots, a purpose proclaimed to maintain a legitimate sovereign, who should govern by known laws and constitutional provisions; and an unvarying demand for the enjoyment of freedom of conscience in the principles and forms of religion; and on the side of the Bourbon race of kings

a constant desire and struggle for arbitrary power in the state, and for entire supremacy in matters of religion, that unity or variety in belief and forms of religion in France was at the will of the Sovereign.

Act first in the great tragedy had a variety of thrilling scenes in the court of Catherine de Medici, regent, with her three sons in succession, the most fashionable and dissolute court in Europe—from the secret treaty of Henry II. and the King of Spain, for the destruction of the Reformers or Huguenots in the two kingdoms, under sanction of the Pope of Rome, embracing the progress of Greek literature and the doctrines of the Reformers, the intrigues of the house of Guise for the succession to the crown about to depart from the Valois family, and ending with the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's eve, August, 1572, of 70,000 Huguenots.

Act second is made up of a disordered series of events. The settlement of the crown upon the Bourbon heir, Henry IV., by the firmness and energy of the Huguenots in expectation of their privileges; the charter of liberty for the Huguenots in the Edict of Nantes; the King's abjuration of the religion of his ancestors and friends that gave him the crown; the vast progress made in the consolidation of the government and wealth of the Huguenots, and the great project of the King for the balance of power in Europe; and ending with the assassination of the King in 1610 by a Jesuit.

Act third embraces the age of Louis XIII. The contentions of the Queen Regent concerning her

favourite, who is assassinated ; the dissensions with her son, fostered by Cardinal Richlieu ; the great and successful efforts of the Cardinal to reduce France to an absolute monarchy, and to deprive the Huguenots of their privileges, although the crown was acknowledged to have been obtained by their aid ; the siege of Rochelle, and the faithlessness of the Cardinal and the King to Mornay and the citizens of Rochelle and the nobles of France ; ending with the death of the King and his cardinal minister.

Act fourth, the age of Louis XIV. ; his minority ; his crown preserved by the Huguenots, who still hoped more from the Bourbon line than any other line of kings ; Louis declares himself the state, and in effect dismisses his cabinet ; his able Huguenot financiers and generals ; the literature of his court of a peculiar kind eulogistic ; successful in his wars ; by persuasions of his mistresses and the Romish clergy, he makes great efforts to reduce the religion of his kingdom to unity of creed and forms, and sacrifices his friends, the Huguenots, to save his soul from his sinful excesses ; calls for literary aid from the ablest Romish clergy, who are paid to out write or out preach the Huguenots ; subjects them to civil disabilities of various kinds ; the dragonades attended with innumerable acts of cruelty ; Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and 500,000 Huguenots driven from France, and in ten years 2,000,000 ; closing with the catastrophe of his family and his unhappy death.

Act fifth, the dissipated court of Louis XV. The oppression of the few Huguenots in France. The

rise and progress of infidel literature under the Encyclopedists ; the increase of the national debt ; the demand of the infidel party for a revolution ; Louis XVI. ; the States General ; politics taken out of the hands of the King ; the national conventions and assemblies ; the King offers all the Huguenots can demand and agrees to a written constitution ; the Huguenots agree to defend him, but not enough left in France to do it ; by one vote Louis is lost, and loses his head on the guillotine, and is followed by his queen, Marie Antoinette, and the blood of all classes of Frenchmen deluge France. France receives an emperor in Napoleon Bonaparte. The Bourbon line lost the finest kingdom in Europe as a consequence of their persecution of their friends, the Huguenots.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Early attempts at Colonization in America Unsuccessful.

AMERICA appeared to the Huguenots in the times of their sufferings for their religion, as a desirable refuge from persecution. As early as the year 1555, Durand de Villegagnon, a Knight of Malta, was entrusted by Coligny, Admiral of France, with a colony of Huguenots to be settled in South America, in the inviting, great, and indefinitely bounded country Brazil. He sailed from Havre with two vessels, taking with him labourers, mechanics, and some of noble families, with some of the Reformed ministers. After a pleasant voyage, the ships entered the great river, Rio Janeiro. A fort was built upon its banks, and called, in honour of the Admiral, Coligny. Colonizing was not then well understood. Suitable preparations had not been made for the difficulties that were inevitable. Discord succeeded sufferings and want. The colonists dispersed. Many died by fatigue and disease; and some reached France in safety. Not discouraged by this ill-success, much of which had been attributed to climate, and distance, and want of proper outfit, the Admiral made preparation for another colony; and having in 1562 obtained permission from Charles IX., he dispatched two ships from Dieppe, under Jean Ribault, to found

a colony in Florida, a country of an indefinite extent, embracing the southern Atlantic shores of North America. Many old soldiers of the Huguenot faith, and many young men of noble family, embarked under the direction of that skilful captain. He touched the Florida coast at the mouth of St. Mary river. Remaining a little time, he coasted northward, along the Georgia and South Carolina shore, to an island and inlet, which he supposed the mouth of a river, both of which he called Port Royal. Here he built a fort, and called it Carolina, in honour of the King of France. In after times the name was applied to the State. Captain Albert was left to command the garrison of twenty-five soldiers, for the defence of the fortress and colony, the first in North America over which floated the flag of a civilized nation. This colony came to an unhappy end. The commander was accused of despotic conduct, and slain in a riot. The colonists embarked for France in a hastily prepared vessel, and were taken up at sea by an English vessel, and by them carried to Europe.

Coligny made the third effort at colonizing America with Huguenots. Three vessels were dispatched under René Landonniere, a sailor of rare intelligence. He built a fort and called it Carolina, further south than Port Royal, on the river St. John, and left the colony. In the course of the year a catastrophe overtook the colony, more sad and discouraging than the fate of the two preceding.

The Spanish court had used every means in its power, by treaty and otherwise, to prevent the progress of the

Huguenot faith in France. The Queen mother at the French court had united with the Spaniards, and encouraged their designs with her utmost skill. The history of her proceedings shows that next to her desire for her family to possess the throne of France, was her desire to eradicate the faith of the rival branch of the house of Louis XI., the Bourbon, and that branch itself, to make way for the Guise family, should her's become extinct. Neither she nor the King of Spain forgot for a moment their secret treaty for the destruction of the Huguenot faith. The Spaniard, Pedro Melendez, invaded the colony, and having adroitly made prisoners, in time of peace, of the greater part of the Frenchmen, he hung them upon the trees around, and left this inscription where it might be read: "Hung as heretics and not as Frenchmen." Protestant Europe was indignant at the report. The French court made no reprisals.

Dominique Gourges, a Frenchman of noble birth, who had seen service by land and by sea, and tried the varied fortunes of war, and at the hands of the Spaniards had endured much suffering, as a galley slave, when he heard of the crime of Melendez, swore vengeance. Selling his patrimony, and aided by two friends, he equipped three ships in the port of Bordeaux, enrolled two hundred men and left the Gironde, in 1567. Reaching the place, he gained over the Indians by presents; and by their assistance attacking the Spaniards unawares, made great slaughter and hung the prisoners that fell into his hands, with this inscription put up: "Hung as assassins, and

not as Spaniards." He returned to France. The "Catholic" King of Spain set a price upon his head; and the "most Christian King" of France not opposing, Gourges escaped the gallows only by concealment. Coligny made no further attempts at colonization in America, and the Indians had possession of the Carolina coast for another century.

The admiral turned all his thoughts to the pacification of France under the Bourbon line, and was sacrificed on the morning of St. Bartholomew's day, August 24th, 1672, with many thousand of his fellow Huguenots. But the court of France encouraged colonies of the Romish Church in North America, and attempted to extend the national influence and religion along the St. Lawrence, the great lakes and down the Mississippi, always refusing to give the Huguenots protection while seeking a home for themselves, their children, and their faith on that great continent. In 1662 the French authorities imputed it as a crime to ship owners at Rochelle, the carrying emigrants to countries which were dependencies of Great Britian, and condemned them to pay a fine. One merchant named Brunet was required to produce within the space of one year, thirty-six young men whose departure from France he was accused of promoting, or bring a certificate of their death, or pay a fine of a thousand livres, and exemplary punishment beside.



## CHAPTER XVII.

## The Emigration to New York.

THE colonization of the banks of the Hudson was commenced by the Dutch as early as the year 1615, near Albany. The only European settlers were commercial agents and their subordinates. No family was formed for some years. There were trading houses and cabins on Manhattan Island, at the mouth of the Hudson, in the year 1621, and the appearance of permanency was given by maintaining the position without interruption through the year. In 1623 the colony assumed a regular form, a number of families being gathered around the new Blockhouse on Manhattan, over whom presided, as Governor, a Huguenot, Peter Minuits, the commercial agent of the West India company. The families composing New Amsterdam were in part Dutch and in part French. The States of Holland had ever been the refuge of the persecuted and the distressed. The sufferings for conscience' sake, under Francis II. and his successors, drove many French families to seek shelter in the provinces called the Netherlands. The Reformed Dutch Church was fashioned like the Reformed French, in doctrine and in forms. The refugee Huguenots were always welcome in Holland for their purity of worship, and morals, and religious principles, together with their industry in the finer man-

ufactories, which increased the trade and wealth of the land of their adoption. The grave and sedate, the plain-dressing Hollanders nevertheless duly complained of the love of dress, the gay manners, and cheerful habits of these emigrants from France, who could not be persuaded to imitate the domestic manners of the Dutch. The French president continued in office in New Amsterdam six years. The first birth in New Amsterdam was of a daughter of a George Rapelji (Rapaeligo), a Huguenot, of a family that fled to Holland after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Some French families settled on Long Island at the place called Walabout. The number of Huguenot emigrants was so great, that in the year 1656, the public documents were issued in French as well as in Dutch and English.

In the settlements along the Hudson, the French emigrants from Holland were not unfrequently intermingled with the Dutch settlers, cherishing the friendship shown them in their exile, and united in the doctrines and worship of the sanctuary. The French language generally gave way to the Dutch, as they both in due time did to the English. The Huguenots were welcomed by the Dutch at Kingston; and together they formed settlements along the streams that pour their waters into the great river. In 1663, Kingston suffered from an attack of the Indians; twenty-four were slain, and forty-five were taken prisoners. "There lay," says Dominic Blom, "the burnt and slaughtered bodies, together with those wounded by bullets and axes. The last agonies and moans and

lamentations of many were dreadful to hear. The burnt bodies were frightful to behold. A woman lay burnt with a child by her side. Other women lay burnt in their houses." He adds: "Many heathen have been slain, and full twenty-two of our people have been delivered out of their hands by our arms." Some of the Huguenots were taken prisoners; among them Catherine Le Fever the wife of Louis Du Bois, with their children. By the direction of a friendly Indian, the husband, with a band of bold men, pursued, going up the Rondout, and then the Walkill, and on a third stream came upon the Indians, engaged in their bloody orgies. The wife of Du Bois was bound, and the fagots ready for the burning. She was singing the one hundred and thirty-seventh Psalm—"By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down." The savages, captivated by the solemn strains, bid her, by signs, go on with her death song. Du Bois and his company rushed on them and saved his wife.

In this expedition the Huguenots discovered the low lands of New Paltz. A patent was obtained for the lands from Governor Andros, in the name of twelve patentees, regularly selected by their brethren for the purpose, viz: Louis Du Bois, Christian Dian, Abraham Hasbroug, Andros Le Fever, John Brook, Peter Dian, Louis Bevier, Anthony Crispell, Abraham Du Bois, Hugo Freir, Isaac Du Bois, Simon Le Fever. These were regarded as the patriarchs of the community. A copy of the agreement with the Indians is to be found in the records at Albany. To

this document are appended the names of the patentees in the antique French character, and the hieroglyphics of the Indians. The price paid for this extensive flat of alluvial land, lying on the west bank of the Hudson, about eighty-five miles from the city of New York, and extending more than six miles interior, was twenty large kettles and twenty small ones, forty axes, forty adzes, forty shirts, four hundred strings of white beads, three hundred strings of black beads, fifty pairs of stockings, one hundred bars of lead, one keg of powder, one hundred knives, four quarter-casks of wine, forty jars, sixty cleaving knives, sixty blankets, one hundred needles, one hundred awls, and one clean pipe. The land for which this was the price is now worth millions. The bargain was concluded, May, 1677. The patentees took immediate possession. They were three days on their journey of sixteen miles from Kingston. Their conveyances were three wagons, the wheels of which were very low, with short spokes, wide rims, and without any iron. Log houses were soon erected on the Walkill, near to each other, for mutual defence. Afterwards stone edifices with port holes were added, some of which still remain. The fields for cultivation were small, and near each other, to prevent surprise from Indians. The people always carried their arms to the field with them, lest the savages should attack them unarmed, or plunder their rifles from their houses.

One of the patentees, Louis Bevier, when about to leave France, could not obtain from his father, exas-

perated at his departure, the least civility. Nor would the parent condescend to notice the kind salutations of another son, affectionately offered in the public streets, on his final departure. Another of the patentees, Dian, or Deyo, endured great sufferings in his flight from France to Holland. For days he concealed himself, without food, and at last escaped, during a violent storm, on a fishing boat, alone, and came to America; and after settling at New Paltz, he was lost in the woods while exploring the country. Thirty years after a truss and buckle, which were known as his, were found at the side of a hollow tree. Whether his death was occasioned by sudden sickness, or by wild beasts, or by the hands of the Indians, was never known. These relics were found a few miles only from the village, in the thick woods between New Paltz and Kingston.

The name of Lefevre brings to mind the early Reformer in France, who taught that, "Religion has only one foundation, one object, one head—Jesus Christ, blessed forever. The cross of Christ alone opens heaven, and shuts the gates of hell."

Another of the patentees, Abraham Hasbroug, came from Calais in 1675. Stopping for a time in the Palatinate, he and other refugees were treated with great kindness. In commemoration they called their village, De Paltz, the name given by the Dutch to the Palatinate, meaning, the place of rest or refreshment; and the little stream they called, Wal-kill, after the river Waal, or Wael, a branch of the Rhine, in memory probably of some kindness received

there ; as some of the emigrants had resided a few years in Holland and formed lasting friendships. Du Bois reached this country in 1660. The Bevier family have a record of a birth, dated 1664. The minister, or oldest man, kept the key of a chest, in which their patent and all their important papers were preserved ; and to these papers and the patentees, or their successors, chosen annually in a town meeting from the families of the original patentees, all matters of difficulties about boundaries were referred for final settlement. Among their first labours was to build a church of logs. This gave way to a building of stone, finished with brick from Holland, which was used for a church, and a refuge in time of alarm. It was square, and each of three sides was adorned with a window, and the fourth had a large door and a portico. The roof was of four sides, running up to a point, with a small steeple, from which a horn was sounded for public worship. Some of the Bibles brought from the old country with the emigrants are still preserved. The one brought by Louis Bevier has this title, “*La Sainte Bible interpreter par Jean Diodati, 1643, Imprimee a Geneve.*”

For some time the Huguenots of New Paltz used the French language. But as the Dutch was spoken at Kingston, Poughkeepsie, and New York, and also in schools and in churches, it was determined in public council to speak Dutch to their children and domestics. In time, the Huguenots in Ulster county adopted the language of the Dutch, together with

their habits and customs, and those have been preserved with peculiar perseverance.

On the 24th of January, 1664, N. Van Beck, a merchant of New Amsterdam, received letters from Rochelle, stating the wish of some French Protestants to settle in New Netherlands. Governor Stuyvesant and council resolved to receive them kindly, and grant them lands. The records of Albany state that crowds of orphans were shipped for the new world; and that a free passage was offered to mechanics.

After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, many Huguenots came from Rochelle and established a town, which they named after their native city, New Rochelle, near the shore of Long Island Sound. The emigrants purchased of John Pell six thousand acres of land. The siege of their native place forms a memorable chapter in the history of France; and is a melancholy conclusion of the noble deeds of that renowned city. It is said that one of these emigrants would every morning go to the shore, look towards his native land, sing one of Marot's hymns, and perform his devotions. At first these emigrants performed their Sabbath worship in New Amsterdam, or New York, walking down to the city on Saturday night, a distance of twenty-three miles, joining in worship on Sabbath, and returning on Sabbath night to their homes. They built for themselves a small wooden church. This gave place to one of stone, on which all worked with intense ardour, women carrying mortar, even in their aprons, to hasten on the work. Queen Anne gave them plate for their

church. Their first minister was Daniel Bondet. This gentleman emigrated to Massachusetts in 1687 with a company of Huguenots, to whom land was assigned at a place called New Oxford. He received some support from the Society for the propagation of the gospel among the savages. His labours for nine years were approved. At that time, his company were dispersed by the inroads of the savages. He was induced to remove to New Rochelle. Here he met with difficulties, which were in part removed by the certificate of Governor Houghton, Increase Mather, and others, "That he, with great faithfulness, care and industry, discharged his duty, both in reference to Christians and Indians; and was of unblemished life and conversation." He died at New Rochelle, after many years of service, bequeathing his library of four hundred volumes to his church. He and his congregation had for many years conformed to the rites and worship of the Church of England.

Staten Island, in the bay of New York, was a favourite asylum for the Huguenots. It might properly have been called, Huguenot Island. They came in considerable numbers about the year 1657, with a pastor, and erected a church near Richmond village. The place was marked a few years since by a few broken grave stones. The French ministers in New Amsterdam, Drusius and Magapalensis, used occasionally to visit these emigrants and preach for them. From a letter, written by these clergymen in 1657, to the "Reverend Pious Learned Sirs, Fath-



ers and Brothers in Christo Jesu," of Holland, giving the state of the churches in New Netherlands, A. D. 1657, it appears that at that time there were only five or six congregations in the province. The history of these emigrants has all the romance attending the flight of the Huguenots from France. Henri de la Tourette fled from La Vendé. To prevent suspicion of the neighbours, he gave a large entertainment, and while the guests were assembled, he, with his wife, suddenly departed for the sea coast. The vessel on which he embarked for Charleston, South Carolina, by distress of weather, made a harbor at Staten Island. A long list of pious descendants trace their origin to this family. By the tolerant measures of Queen Anne, many of the refugees that had been kindly received in England removed to this island.

Like the descendants of the emigrants to Ulster county, the progeny of the refugees to this lovely spot occupy, in many cases, the farms held by their ancestors. The names of Dissosway and Guion are examples. This Island, about fourteen miles long, and about three wide, has a population of about eighteen thousand, divided into thirty evangelical congregations. And it is worthy of notice that most of the officers and zealous members in these churches are descendants of the Huguenots. The name of Bedell, well known in the churches, comes from the Huguenots of Staten Island. In the early records we find Fontaine, Reseau, La Tourette, Rutan, Bedell, Puillon, Mercereau, La Conte, Batten, Mancy,

Perrin, Larselene, Cruse De Pue, Corssen, Martineau, Tuenire, Morgan, Le Guine, Jouerney. The Dutch intermarrying with these French refugees, almost every old family claims relationship with the Huguenots. During the revolutionary war a Mr. Dissosway fell into the hands of the enemy. His wife was the sister of a brave officer, Captain Nathaniel Randolph, who had much annoyed the British. One of her majesty's officers promised her the release of her husband if she would induce her brother to leave the rebel ranks. She replied: "Could I act so dastardly a part, think you that General Washington has but one Captain Randolph in his army?" There were Huguenots on both the male and female line of the family.

In New Amsterdam an humble chapel was erected on Marketfield street, near the Battery, for the worship of God in the French language. Here the refugees in the city, that preferred to worship in their mother tongue, assembled from Sabbath to Sabbath. Many came to join them from Staten Island, from Long Island, and New Rochelle, some in boats and some on foot, and some in wagons, in which they lodged all night; and together sung the hymns of their ancestors, and prayed, and heard the doctrines that had consoled them in all their labours and exile. In 1704 a more commodious place of worship, L'Eglise du St. Esprit, was erected on Pine street, opposite the Custom House. To it was attached a cemetery. The building was of stone, and nearly square. The bell was the gift of Sir Henry Ashurst of London. On

the front of the house was the inscription, "*Ædes sacra Gallor. Prot. Reform. Fonda, 1704. Penitus Repar. 1741.*" In this church Francis Makemie preached after his famous trial for preaching the gospel in New York. This building and the cemetery have both been removed, and the site is occupied as a place of trade. The congregation erected a marble edifice in Leonard street, where the doctrines of the Reformation are still preached in the tongue in which they were so eloquently proclaimed by Claude and Du Bose and Abaddie and Saurin, and a host of earnest preachers. This congregation is in connexion with the Episcopal Church. In every other case the French tongue gave way. The greater part of the Huguenots coalesced with their old friends, the Dutch, and became part of the Reformed Dutch. The others became united with the denominations that used the English language, principally the Episcopal and Presbyterian denominations, and the descendents are recognized only by their names and their spirit.

Louis XIV. followed with his displeasure those of his exiled subjects settling in South Carolina, and cut off all hopes of reconciliation by forbidding them to form a colony in Louisiana. He pursued the exiles in New York with greater vengeance. Having encouraged the Marquis de Denonville to undertake the subjection of the Iroquois, the Governor of Montreal, the Marquis of Seignelay writes to him: "It is likewise necessary for the establishment of religion, which will never spread itself there except by the destruction of the Iroquois; so that upon the success of

the war which the Governor General of Canada proposes to commence against the Iroquois on the 15th of May next, depends either the ruin of the country and of religion, if he be not assisted, or the establishment of religion, commerce and the King's power over all North America, if he be granted the aid he demands." The King replied from Versailles, March 30, 1687, that he expects "to learn at the close of the year, the entire destruction of the greater part of those savages; and as a number of prisoners may be made, and his majesty thinks he can make use of them in his galleys, he desires him to manage so as to retain them until he have vessels from France." It does not appear that his majesty obtained any galley slaves from the Iroquois. But De Denonville informed him: "We witnessed the painful sight of the usual cruelties of the savages, who cut the dead into quarters as in a slaughter house."

Two years after, the French Governor of Canada formed a project for the reduction of New England and New York. Albany was the first to be surprised and reduced, and then Manhattan taken. He tells his royal master that this was the way "to establish firmly the Christian religion among the Iroquois and the other savages, and also throughout North America." The King approved the plan. All faithful Catholics were to remain unmolested in the attacks, whilst the "French refugees, particularly those of the pretended Reformed religion, must be sent back to France." In consequence of these plans, Schenectady was assaulted in February 1689, during a heavy

snow storm, many of the inhabitants killed, and twenty-seven taken prisoners and marched into Canada. From this time the colonies were harassed by Indian wars. The French governors in America were inflamed with the passionate desire to exterminate all Protestant colonies from North America; or at least to confine them to the narrowest possible limits on the Atlantic shore. The Jesuits urged on the scheme. The King, however, was absorbed in the wars of Europe and the pleasures of his luxurious court. To arrest his attention and obtain the necessary supplies, the Governor, supported by the Jesuits, appealed to the ruling passion of his old age to atone for the sins of a long life, and to secure an entrance into heaven at last by rooting out Protestantism, and completely establishing the forms of worship and the doctrines of the Romish church throughout France and its dependencies. This appeal was not in vain. The Iroquois being friendly to the Dutch colony on North river, was involved in the plan for the universal destruction of all the opposers of France in America. From the massacre at Schenectady, the murderous incursions of the Indians, instigated and assisted by the French governors, continued till the capture of Quebec by the gallant Wolfe, and the consequent seizure of the province from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to Louisiana. The desire of Louis XIV. for Indian galley slaves and the return to France of the Huguenot exiles in New York was never gratified in a single case.

The Huguenot and Dutch families intermarried.

Their descendants form numerically but a small part of the population of the great State of New York. Their moral, religious and political worth have ever placed them amongst the most valued citizens in every department of life. One president of the Continental Congress was from the Huguenot race in South Carolina, and one from New York—Laurens and Jay. The pulpit has sought her ornaments among them; the bar has found her advocates; mercantile life her merchant princes; and the domestic circles have been blessed with examples of purity and happiness. The influence of this small part of the community upon the whole has been adorning and elevating.

The following is a list of part of the consistory and some of the principal families composing the French Church in New York after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. At the close of the seventeenth century this church was considered the metropolis of the French Church in America, being strong in numbers and firm in doctrine. The names are gathered from a pamphlet in the British Museum. Of the consistory were Pierre Valette, Thomas Bayeux, Jean Casals, Jean-Jacques Moulinars, Jean Barberie, and Abraham Jounceau. Some of the families were Etienne de Lancey, D'Harriette, Lafonds, Girard, Pineau, David, Moreau, Vincent, Dupuy, Allaire, Garnier, Clérambault, Pellerault, Ebrard, Jay, Gautier, Bonrepaus, Tharge, Barre, Bodin, Ravoux, Richer, Roussel, Beau and Fresnau.

As late as the year 1772, a letter was sent to the

French Church at London, signed by Jacques Des-trosses, Jacques Buvelot, Frederic Basset, Jean Pierre Chapelle, John Aymar, Jean Girault and Francis Carre, asking for a pastor that could interpret the gospel in two languages, the French and the English.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## The Emigration to Massachusetts.

THE colony of Massachusetts opened her doors to the exiled Huguenots. After the taking of Rochelle, many of its distressed citizens sought refuge in foreign lands; some fled to America, a few to Massachusetts. In 1662, the families of refugees in that province were numerous; and the authorities of France, having condemned some ship-owners of Rochelle to a heavy fine for receiving emigrants on board their vessels, and conveying them to a dependency of Great Britain, and having ordered one of them named Brunet under penalty of fine and punishment to produce thirty-six young men, whose escape he was accused of having favoured, or to exhibit legal evidence of their death; Jean Touton, a doctor and Huguenot, asked of the general court of the province, in his own name, and that of the other Protestants that had been compelled to flee their country, authority to sojourn in the colony. This was readily granted. Sure of protection in the colony, the Huguenots formed establishments in Boston that attracted other emigrants. To this city in 1679, Elie Nean, chief of a family in the principality of Saubize, directed his steps. He was afterwards taken prisoner by a pri-



vateer, on a voyage to Jamaica in a merchant vessel commanded by himself, carried to France and shut up in the galleys, and kept till 1697, when he was released through the intercession of Lord Portland.

About the year 1685, a company of Huguenots sailed from France for Boston. Every means was taken to conceal their intention to depart. One family, by name Germaine, related that they left at their house the pot boiling over the fire. On their arrival, they were kindly entertained on Fort Hill. In 1686 the General Court granted a tract of land, eight miles square, called by the Indians Nipmug, to Joseph Dudley, Wm. Houghton, and Major Robert Thompson. Of this grant about twelve thousand acres were set apart for the village of Oxford, near the present city of Worcester. The whole country around was a wilderness. Gabriel Bernon was named as the undertaker of this plantation; and to this place the emigrants on Fort Hill removed, having purchased portions of the land at low prices. One of the first acts of these refugees was to settle Daniel Bondet as their minister, at a salary of forty pounds. He received some twenty-five pounds per annum from the society for the propagation of the gospel among the savages. A fort was erected, the traces of which can still be seen. The savages were induced to make an inroad on this peaceable settlement, as a part of the great scheme formed by the French Governor of Canada for the destruction of all the Protestant colonies, and in particular the Huguenots. A Mr. Johnson was massacred, with his

three children. Andrew Sigourney, a brother of Mrs. Johnson, alarmed by the report of guns, ran to the house, seized his sister, and escaped with her through a back door. Discouraged by this attack, the colonists retired to Boston in 1696. Their preacher, being invited by Colonel Heathcote, removed to New York, and became pastor of the church at New Rochelle. He received from Governor Houghton and others a certificate "of great faithfulness, care, and industry," in performance of his duties "to Christians and Indians."

A church was founded in Boston for the refugees in 1686, and was served by French pastors. In after years this very building was used by French Catholics, who fled from the violence of the revolution in France. The first Huguenot pastor, named Daillé, came in 1696.

Here, as in the other provinces, the French language gave way to the language of the majority, and the Huguenot families intermingled with the families and congregations of Boston. The severity of the climate turned the attention of the emigrants to the milder regions of Virginia and the Carolinas. The son of a Huguenot, by name Peter Faneuil, in 1742 presented to the city of Boston a building for the convenient assemblage of the people on occasions of political interest, which bears the name of Faneuil Hall. From the proceedings held there, in the times preceding the revolution, 1763, it received the additional name of "the Cradle of Liberty." The hall still stands. In the northern province of Mas-

sachusetts, now the State of Maine, a flourishing college received its name from a liberal descendant of a Huguenot, named Bowdoin. These two monuments of the French emigrants show the spirit of the Huguenots that sought and found a refuge in the Bay State. Some of the descendants of these people, in the male and female branches, may still be found in the State, though the memory of their French origin has in a great measure passed away before the greater eclat of the dominant and aspiring race.

## CHAPTER XIX.

The Emigration to Virginia—The Colony of Manakin Town.

THE first permanent Protestant colony in North America was Virginia. The living ministry and the regular worship of God in a Protestant form came with the first colonists. The foundations of Jamestown were laid with divine service according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. The directors and the first actors in this settlement, in a wilderness country, desired and designed that the established church in the mother-land should be the perfect model of the belief and worship of the church in the colony; and that the Church and State should be indissolubly united. The numerous laws, enacted by the colonial Legislature, for the maintainance of public worship were imperative, and fashioned on the primary principle of strict construction. In strict construction the New England colonies followed her example, fashioning the church on a peculiar model.

Virginia was a colony of Englishmen; and for a series of years none but Englishmen were welcomed, or could obtain citizenship. Those Englishmen that held to the Romish church, and those reckoned Puritans of the independent class, were debarred the colony. All of every class of citizens that failed to take part in the worship and ceremonies of the estab-

lished church, were visited with pains and penalties. Virginia claims the first regular worship in Protestant America. The first act of the Legislature, giving encouragement to foreigners, was passed in 1657, in the ninth year of the Commonwealth of England, and styled, "Concerning Denization."

In 1659 it was "ordered: That John Johnson, millwright, being a Dutchman, be, for the encouragement of other artisans, of what nation soever, admitted to be a denizen of Virginia, he having been resident here much longer than the act for denizens requires. And intending, according to the tenor thereof, to make this the place of his future residence. Therefore, upon oath taken according to act, his letters of denization are ordered to issue forth." In the month of October, 1660, an act was passed in favour of the denization of Nicholas Brote, after a further residence of two years in the colony. No mention is made of his acceptance, or of the nation whence he came.

A more liberal act was passed in 1671. "Whereas nothing can tend more to the advancement of a new plantation, either to its defence or prosperity, nor nothing more add to the glory of a prince than being the gracious master of many subjects, nor any better way to produce those effects than the inviting of people of other nations to reside amonge us, by communication of privileges—Be it therefore enacted and ordeyned by this grand Assembly and the authority thereof, that any stranger desiring to make this country the place of his constant residence, may upon

their petition to the grand Assembly, and taking the oaths of allegiance, and supremacy to his majesty, be admitted to a naturalization; and by act thereof to them granted, be capable of office, traffique, and trading, of taking up, purchasing, conveying, devising, and inheriting of lands; and all such liberties, privileges, immunities, whatsoever as a natural born Englishman is capable of, provided that the benefit of such naturalization be confined and esteemed to extend only to the government of Virginia, beyond which this grand Assembly pretend to noe authority of warranting its sufficiencie. Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the fee for every naturalization be eighteen pounds of Tobacco to the Speaker and ffour hundred to the Clerk of Assembly."

Under this act, patents of naturalization were granted by the Assembly in 1672, to Joshua Mulder, Henry Weedeck, Christophier Rigault, Henry Ffayson Vandoverage, John Muttone, Dominick Theriate, Jeremy Parkquitt, Nicholas Cock, Henry Waggemore, and Thomas Harmenson; in 1673, to John Peterson, Rowland Anderson, Michaell Valandigam, Minor Doodes, Doodes Minor, and Herman Kelderman; in 1675, to Christian Peterson; in 1676, to Garratt Johnson; in 1679, to Abraham Vinclar, John Michaell, Jacob Johnson, John Pemmett, and John Kecton. The nation or employment of the individual is in no case mentioned. Some of the names are Dutch, others French, others a foreign name anglicised.

In 1650 the Assembly revised the act of naturalization, making the invitation more full, and changing the fees to forty shillings to the Governor and ten to the Clerk, and giving authority to the government to issue the patent. In the revised code of 1705 this act is retained. No record is preserved of the patents issued under this act. A copy of one is preserved in *Hanings*, 4th vol. These invitations were not as free and full as those made by Maryland, South Carolina, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. New York gave the greatest encouragement from its first settlement.

The first record of permission to preach the gospel in Virginia, except according to the forms of the Church of England, is found in the records of the court of Accomac, in 1699, given to Francis Makemie, the father of the Presbyterian Church in North America. The promulgation of the Act of Toleration, the first act of William and Mary, was delayed in Virginia for about ten years. Two trains of circumstances induced the Assembly to modify its action in respect to religion. The first was the coming of Presbyterian colonists and preachers from the mother country, who plead the Act of Toleration for their protection; the second, the coming of a colony of Huguenots, under the patronage of King William, who wished to show some favour to the people by whose aid he obtained the crown of England. Of his army of eleven thousand, which sailed from Holland, three regiments, each containing seven hundred and fifty effective men, in all two thousand two hun-

dred and fifty were Huguenots. To these were added a squadron of horse. And about seven hundred officers were distributed among the other battalions of the army. William had no partisans more resolute or devoted than the Huguenots. Fifty-four of them were in his horse guards, and thirty four in his body guards, each burning with desire to overthrow the designs of Louis XIV. on the crown and kingdom of England. A long list of men, high in military and civil rank, has been preserved, as soldiers in the army of William of Orange, at the head of which was Frederic Arnaud de Schomberg, the commander of the army of invasion or occupation. In gratitude to these men, and in sympathy with the great multitude of their suffering brethren, driven violently from their homes and native country, simply for their religion, the King invited them to make their home in his new dominions. A large number were settled in England; a considerable number took their abode in different parts of Ireland; and many turned their eyes to America, and sought a home in Virginia. Many families took their residence along the Potomac, Rappahannock, and James rivers, as their inclinations and circumstances prompted. Some families were persuaded to take their residence in the wilderness frontiers above the falls of James river. The King favoured the forming a colony on the lands of the extinct Manakin Indians in Hanover, now Powhatan, some twenty miles above Richmond. By the close of the century, a large number of families were congregated, and a grant of ten thousand acres was



made for their use and possession. The exiled pastor, Claude De Richebourg, came with them, a man of great worth, and devoted to the ministry, according to the doctrines and forms of the Reformed French Church.

Pressed by these emigrations, both English and French, which were not in connexion with the Church of England, the Assembly of Virginia relaxed in some measure the strictness of the laws in regard to religion. An act of toleration in direct terms was not according to the spirit of the colony of the ancient dominion; neither was a simple announcement of the act of King William, with the concurrence of the Assembly. But an act was passed April, 1698, "*For the more effectually suppressing of Blasphemy, Swearing, Cursing, Drunkenness, and Sabbath-breaking.*" Its provisions would have satisfied the most earnest advocate for promoting public morals by law. By the first enactment it was provided:—"That if any person or persons, brought up in the Christian religion, shall, by writing, printing, teaching, or advisedly speaking, deny the being of a God, or the Holy Trinity, or shall assert or maintain there are more Gods than one, or shall deny the Christian religion to be true, or the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be of divine authority, and thereof lawfully convicted upon indictment, or information, in the general court of his majesty's colony and dominion, by the oaths of two or more credible witnesses, such person or persons, for the first offence, shall be adjudged incapable, or disabled in law to all

intents and purposes whatsoever, to hold and enjoy any office and employment, ecclesiastical, civil or military, or any part in them, or any profit or advantage to them appertaining, or any of them." For a second offence the penalty was increased by greater disabilities, and by three years imprisonment. By the second enactment, cursing, swearing, and getting drunk, were punished, each offence by a fine of five shillings, or fifty pounds of tobacco. By the third enactment, neglecting to attend the parish church at least once in two Sabbaths was punishable, on conviction, with a fine of five shillings, or fifty pounds of tobacco.

To these enactments was affixed the proviso:—  
“Provided always that if any person or persons dissenting from the Church of England, being every way qualified according to one act of parliament made in the first year of the reign of our sovereign lord the King, that now is, and the late Queen Mary of blessed memory, entitled an act for exempting their majesties’ Protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penaltyes of certain laws, shall resort and meet at any congregation, or place of religious worship, permitted or allowed by the said act of parliament, once in two months, that then the said penaltyes and forfeitures imposed by the act for neglecting, or refusing, to resort to their parrish church or chappel as aforesaid, shall not be taken to extend to such person or persons, any thing in this act to the contrary, notwithstanding.”  
Qualified dissenters were exempt from penalties by

this proviso; but no information was given in the enactment to an enquiry, where and how the qualifications to satisfy the law and escape the penalties could be obtained. That was left to his discretion.

In the revised code of 1705, this law was amended so as to read: "That if any person, being of the age of twenty-one years or upwards, shall wilfully absent him, or herself, from divine service, at his or her parish church, or chapel, the space of one month, (except, as is excepted in an act of parliament, passed in the first year of King William and Queen Mary, entituled, An Act for exempting their majestys' Protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws;) and shall not, when there, in a decent and orderly manner, continue till the said service is ended," &c. On this parenthesis Davies and his successors obtained leave to serve congregations in Virginia, and have houses built for their convenience of worship.

This proviso and parenthesis were considered enough for the English emigrants and the French families, settled along the river banks of the ancient dominion. The young colony of Huguenots, commencing at Manakin town, obtained greater favour. In 1700, to satisfy these desirable colonists, the Assembly decreed: "Whereas, a considerable number of French Protestant refugees have been lately imported into his majesty's colony and dominions, severall of which refugees have seated themselves above the falls of James River, at, or near to, a place commonly called and known by the name of Manakin towne, for the

encouragement of said refugees to settle and remain together, as near as may be to the said Manakin towne, and the parts adjacent, shall be accounted and taken for inhabitants of a distinct parish by themselves; and the land which they now do and shall hereafter possess, at, or adjacent, to the said Manakin towne, shall be, and is hereby declared to be a parish of itselfe, distinct from any other parish, to be called and known by the name of *King William Parish*, in the county of Henrico, and not lyable to the payment of parish levies in any other parish whatsoever. And be it further enacted: That such and so many of the said refugees, as are already settled, or shall hereafter settle themselves as inhabitants of the said parish, at the Manakin towne, and the parts adjacent, shall, themselves and their families, and every of them, be free and exempted from the payment of public and county levies for the space of seven years next, ensuing from the publication of this act, any law, statute, custom or usage to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding."

In the revised code of 1705, there is added a proviso, "Provided always that the allowance settled by law for a minister's maintainance shall not be construed to extend to the minister of the said parish of King William, but that the inhabitants of the said parish are hereby intended to be left at their own liberty to agree with and pay their minister as their circumstances will admit."

The first act of toleration was intended for one colony of Huguenots. Some of its provisions were

limited in time, and others were expressed in very indefinite language. These colonists were Presbyterian in their forms of worship, and in the government of the Church, and in the order of their clergy; in the articles of belief, they followed their renowned countryman, John Calvin. Makemie, the first Presbyterian minister licensed by law to preach the gospel, spoke English; and was compelled to pay tithes to the established Church. Claude Phillippi De Richebourg, the first minister at Manakin town, was a Presbyterian, spoke French, and paid no tithes. Makemie claimed citizenship as a natural born English subject of the English crown. Richebourg, in 1702, in company with Francis Rabot, Peter Faurr, John Joanny, James Champaigne, and others, obtained their right of citizenship by act of Assembly. The favour of the Assembly was shown particularly to the foreign colonists on the river James.

No other acts of toleration were passed until the American revolution had prepared the way for general and mutual toleration in religious forms and worship, the mass of the State recognizing the Christian religion as the foundation of all acceptable worship, in whatever denominational form it may be offered.

Beverly, in his history of Virginia, says: "The French refugees, sent in thither by the charitable exhibition of his late majesty King William, are naturalized by a particular law for that purpose." By his construction the words, "and others," in the act for Richebourg and his four companions comprehended the whole settlement at or near Manakin towns.

Beverly goes on to say: "In the year 1699, there went over about three hundred of these, and in the year following about two hundred, and so on until their arrival in all between seven and eight hundred men, women and children, who had fled from France on account of their religion. Those who went over the first year were advised to seat on a very rich piece of land about twenty miles above the falls of James river, on the south side of the river, which land was formerly the seat of a great and war-like nation of Indians, called Monacans, none of which are now left in these parts; but the land still retains their name, and is called the Monacan town. The refugees that arrived the second year, went also to the Monacan town, but afterwards, upon some disagreement, several dispersed themselves up and down the country; and those that have arrived since have followed their example, except some few that likewise settled at Monacan town. The Assembly was very bountiful to those that remained at this town, bestowing on them large donations of money and provisions for their support. They likewise freed them from every public tax for several years to come, and addressed the Governor to grant them a brief, to entitle them to the charity of all well disposed persons throughout the country, which, together with the King's benevolence, supported them very comfortably till they could sufficiently supply themselves with necessaries, which they now do indifferently well, and have stocks of cattle, which are said to give abundance more milk than any other in the country. In the year 1702

they began an essay of wine, which they made of the wild grapes gathered in the woods, the effect of which was strong bodied claret of good flavour. I heard a gentleman, who tasted it, give it great commendation. I have heard that these people are upon the design of getting into the breed of buffaloes, to which end they lay in wait for their calves, that they may tame and raise a stock of them, in which, if they succeed, it will in all probability be greatly for their advantage; for these are much larger than other cattle, and have the benefit of being natural to the climate. They now make their own clothes, and are resolved, as soon as they have improved that manufacture, to apply themselves to the making of wine and brandy, which they do not doubt to bring to perfection."

The efforts of these colonists to introduce the productions and manufactures of France on the extreme frontier of Virginia met with insurmountable difficulties. Their necessities compelled them to engage in those agricultural pursuits that most readily supplied their pressing wants. Their surplus productions brought from foreign countries the manufactures, they proposed, more cheaply and readily than they could prepare them in their isolated situation on the James.

Of the ten thousand acres granted for the encouragement of the colony, five thousand were laid off, under the superintendence of Robert Bolling, and occupied by the emigrants. Reports respecting the softer soil and milder climate of North Carolina were welcomed by many of these emigrants, whose property had been consumed or greatly lessened by their

flight from France, their wandering in Europe, and voyage to America, and whose desires to introduce the productions of France had been disappointed; and notwithstanding the encouragements given by the Governor and Council of Virginia, emigration from Virginia to North Carolina commenced. A visitor writes from North Carolina in 1708: "Most of the French, who lived at that town on James river, removed to Trent river in North Carolina, where the rest were expected daily to come to them when I came away." Other emigrants from Europe came to Virginia, and sought a home at the Manakin town settlement; and in 1710 the Governor and Council, on the petition of Abraham Taller and Reverend Claude Phillippi De Richebourg, directed the surveyor of Henrico county to lay off the remaining five thousand acres of the original grant of ten thousand, and so to divide it into lots that each heritor should receive one hundred and thirty acres as their portion. They also directed that those who had always remained at Manakin town should have precedence in choice of lots thus laid out, or parts of lots, to make that already possessed one hundred and thirty-three acres; and should cast lots for the choice; and that those who had come since the settlement, and always remained, should have second choice, also by lot; and that those who left, and again returned, should have the third choice. Colonel William Randolph and Mr. Richard Cock were authorized to hear and decide upon any difficulties that might arise in the allotment of the land.



Some difficulties having arisen respecting the pastor Richebourg, he left the colony of Manakin town, and accompanied by his friends, removed to Trent river, in North Carolina. Disturbed by the inroads of the Indians, the emigrants removed once more, and sought and found an abiding place with their brethren in South Carolina.

The pastor Richebourg closed his laborious and adventurous life in South Carolina, having by his example of suffering patience encouraged the refugees to bear bravely their lot. His life in America was filled with labour, and toils, and poverty, and hope, and faith, and charity. His will, written in French, is preserved in the archives of Charleston.

The colonists that remained at Manakin town, disappointed in their efforts to introduce the manufactures and productions of France, conformed their labours to the soil and climate and condition of a frontier settlement; and went on increasing and multiplying, and subduing the earth, according to the command of God in Eden. The ten thousand acres were soon too few for this enterprising people. They lengthened their cords and strengthened their stakes, and soon began to emigrate to portions of the unoccupied wilderness in Virginia. Goochland, and Fluvanna, and Louisa, and Albemarle, and Buckingham, and Powhatan, and Chesterfield, and Prince Edward, and Cumberland, and Charlotte, and Appomattox, and Campbell, and Pittsylvania, and Halifax, and Mecklenburg, all gave these emigrants a home. And then county after county, and State after State, to

the west and south, beckoned them on; and they went on and grew, and multiplied according to the blessing of Jacob on Joseph's children. Go over Virginia and ask for the descendants of those Huguenot families, that cast their lot, on their first landing, among the English neighbourhoods, and as speedily as possible conformed to the political usages of the colony, and adopted the English language, and by intermarriage were soon commingled with English society; and then follow the colonists of Manakin town, as they more slowly assimilated with the English; and number those that by direct descent, or by intermarriage, have Huguenot blood in their veins, and the list will swell to an immense multitude. The influence which these descendents of the French refugees have had, and still exercise, in the formation and preservation of the character of the State and the nation, has unostentatiously and widely extended.

Had geneological records of all the families of Virginia, from its first settlement to the present day, been made full, and carefully preserved, there would be materials in abundance for the most interesting philosophical enquiries and deductions. These records, if complete, would present, besides the usual memoranda of birth, marriage, and death in families, a brief statement, in connexion with every marriage, of the general appearance of each party; the height, weight, shape, colour of the skin, hair, eyes, and the size of the limbs, especially of the hands and feet; together with the characteristics of mind, and the moral and religious habits. To which should be

added, at the close of their lives, the occupation they had followed, and the climate and soil to which they had been accustomed in life ; with their general health, and the causes and circumstances of their death, and their domestic habits. Or had but a portion of the families of the different races of people, that have been amalgamated in Virginia, preserved such memoranda ; or had such geneological tables as have been preserved by a few families of every race, confined as they are in their details, been more generally kept, philosophical enquiries of a personal and national character might now be, with great safety, carried to a great extent of exactness and usefulness. Causes of individual longevity or shortlivedness, of success or ill success in life, of strength or weakness of body, of enterprise or imbecility, of the increase of families, of the extinction of families or of family names, of the alternate increase and diminution of families, of the prevalence of mental and bodily habits, of the descent of peculiar talents, or of strength or weakness of mind. All these enquiries involve personal and domestic happiness and general good ; for all these, with other matters worthy of investigation, have been united in forming the tone of manners, the private life and public bearing of the great and beloved State of Virginia, and that of the Southern States. Some English families have preserved the geneological line of their descent, together with much particular information. The same has been done by some of the Scotch and Scotch-Irish families that have been mingled in great numbers with the

Virginia population. The Germans have some such data in their extensive neighbourhoods, in the mountains and valleys of the ancient Dominion. The refugees from France have not been entirely neglectful of these memoranda, full of instruction to their descendants and the public generally, and of lasting importance in the philosophical and political inquiries.

By the statute law of Virginia, in force as long as a form of religion was established by law in the State, each parish was required to keep a register of births, baptisms, and deaths, accruing within its bounds. Marriages were registered by the county court. From fragments of the parish register of King William, (Manakin town,) kept in French, extending from the year 1721 to the year 1754, together with fragments of the list of titheables, about the year 1744, the following names have been gathered, of families forming Manakin town settlement, or King William Parish, viz: Morriset, Chastain, David, Guerrant, Goury, Gilmer, Maubain, Dupree, Monford, Dupuy, Dykar, Goré, Sallé Soblet, Alligree, Martain, Villain, Trabu, Samson, Chambon, Billebo, Girardon, Dubruil, Benin, Souillie, Pouviene, Prot, Lesueur, Pero, Rapins, Faure, Faisé, Levellan, Legrand, Flournoy, Lansdon, Capon, Sassain, Sabattie, Mallet, Amonet, Bernard, Porter, Witt, Scot, Edmon, Robinson, Dickins, Stanford, Dutacé, Louadon, Smith, Forqueran, Chaveron, Apperson, Bryers, Bondurant, Robert, Taller, Bingly, Gose, Woolding, Elson, Tomas, Solaignre, Bantan, Pene, Don, Parrat, Wevor, Chandler, Wattkins, Hamden, Lory, Godse, Kempe,

Howard, Cocke, Pemberton, Harris, Shepard, Sumter, Esly, Amis, Ayer, Butler, (Ayse) Kemp, Carner, Benni Orringe, Drowen, Ominet, Sullevant, Pankey, Robin, Trent, Gory, Baigley, Deen, Guettle, Jordin. To these may be added the names of French ministers that served them for a space of time in succession: De Richebourg, the two Messrs. Fontaine, Fine, Neirn, Taler, Marye, and Gavain. These families emigrated from Manakin town, in succession; and at the beginning of this century had all found homes in other places, where larger farms could be obtained at more favourable prices, and a wider field of enterprise was opened before them.

A large number of Huguenot families came to Virginia that never had any connexion, but sympathy, with the colony of Manakin town. These were scattered over the province, principally east of the Blue-ridge, and along the navigable rivers, particularly the Potomac, Rappahannock, and the James. These families more speedily intermingled and coalesced with the English, adopting their language and habits of life. Their names received the English form by a change in orthography, or by translations; and at this time their origin is discovered only by old patents and deeds, or genealogical memoranda, preserved in Bibles or family papers, as curiosities. The number of such families cannot be readily ascertained. But enough is known to warrant the conclusion that the number of those who chose to intermingle with the English colonists directly was greater than that of those who were induced by the love of French things

to attempt, by a colony, to preserve French habits and their beloved language. The absorption and amalgamation of races present subjects of philosophic enquiry of the greatest interest, in which almost all the families of Virginia are involved.

## CHAPTER XX.

Some memoranda of Huguenot families that emigrated to Virginia.

SOME families have preserved memoranda of their origin, and the circumstances of the escape of their ancestors from France. The traditions of others have lost their exactness; and by degrees, the knowledge of their ancestors has become to many in Virginia, dreamlike. The mass of people have been satisfied with the belief that their ancestors were honourable, and came, some from England, some from Scotland and Ireland, and some from France. The French language having passed out of use in domestic life for a century and a quarter, or more; and domestic records to keep up the family feeling and knowledge, not to be found; and a volume of history that should contain the necessary information, not having been prepared; many families of Huguenot descent have lost the knowledge of their ancestry in all its interesting particulars.

A few collections, from families from different parts of the State are here presented, to give a specimen of what took place in the exile and emigration of the whole body of exiles whose children are in Virginia.

1st. Abraham Micheaux and Susannah Rochette. From the memoranda preserved by M<sup>me</sup>. Patty Venable, their great-grand-child, from the oft repeated traditions of her grandmother, their daughter, who was an emigrant. The originals are with Dr. Venable of Prince Edward, Virginia.

The family of Rochette lived in Sedan, in the north-eastern part of France, a place noted for its manufacture of iron, and for the seminary of the Reformed for the instruction of youth. There were three daughters, of which Susannah was the youngest. At the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685, the eldest daughter was about sixteen years of age. According to the oppressive orders of the King, she had been examined three times by the Romish priests or government officials, to find some cause for sending her to the Romish schools, or bring some charge against her or her parents. Her father sent her with a niece, who had an infant child, on the way to a seaport, to embark for Holland as a place of refuge. They were conducted by men, dressed in women's clothes, called Night-Walkers. On the journey, while crossing in the night a small stream at a mill, the mother stumbled on some rocks and the child cried. Some soldiers stationed at the mill were aroused, "and nine lusty fellows stepped forth and captured the females, and conducted them to prison." The father was permitted to take his daughter home; the niece was retained in prison, and every morning was required to walk the streets near the prison, exposed to the ridicule and scoffs of the people, as a punishment for



attempting to leave the country. Her husband had sometime before gone to Holland, under the pretence of seeking employ as a ship carpenter.

Mr. Rochette, after paying various sums of money to obtain peace, made an attempt to send his two elder daughters to Holland. On their way to the sea-shore, the younger was taken sick, and lay for some time at a small hotel. Hearing her cough frequently, some soldiers inquired about the strangers, if they were Huguenots, and were answered, that there was a very sick person in the house, who must not be disturbed. On her recovery, the two sisters escaped to Holland, and found a home in Amsterdam, where great exertions were made for the comfort of refugees. After some time these sisters wrote to their father to send them "the little night-cap" left behind when they left Sedan, meaning their youngest sister, Susannah, whose name they feared to mention, lest if the letter was intercepted, their father might suffer for it. After various efforts to send "the little night-cap," she was enclosed in a hogshead labelled as containing goods, and delivered to a sea-captain friendly to the family and to the attempt to escape. After leaving the harbour, and getting beyond the guard vessels that were set to search every vessel leaving the port, to apprehend all fugitives, she was set free from her confinement and reached her sisters in safety.

The father contrived to visit his daughters in Amsterdam, and finding his children were using the cheapest black bread in the country, he said pleasantly, "If I were choosing a stone, I would take

the whitest." The mother also made them a visit, carrying in her hair some money with which she purchased for them silks and other fine dresses. "I have often heard," says Mrs. Venable, "about my great-grandmother, the little Night-Cap, that she often cried when she ate the black bread, and called to mind how spoiled she had been in her father's house; that there she would not eat bread that had been broken; and that her mother would tell her she might see the day when she would be glad to get it; that often while at home she would exchange her white bread with the poor people in the streets for their brown bread, but was greatly grieved when she was by necessity compelled to eat it daily.

The two elder sisters married and removed to the West Indies. The youngest, Susannah, married Abraham Micheaux, who was a refugee for his religion, and remained some years in Holland. He made gauze, and she made lace, for which there was a demand and a ready sale, and the profits sustained the family, and by economy, enabled them to lay by in store. When the attention of the refugees was turned to Virginia by the encouragement offered by King William, Abraham Micheaux prepared to embark with his wife and six children, for America. He landed in Stafford County, Virginia, on the banks of the Potomac river. There he remained a short time. Jacob, the eldest son, having learned to work in tin and iron, went among the planters and repaired their domestic implements, making a profitable business. In a year or two the family removed to Manakin town

on the James river, to join the colony. At first the older settlers objected to the new comers having equal privileges with those who had formed the colony. The Legislature of the province decided the difficulty, giving equal shares of land, but allowing the older settlers the right of choice. The oldest son, Jacob Micheaux, declined settling in that colony, and took up land on the James river at a place now known as Micheaux's ferry. The property is still in the hands of his descendants.

Abraham Micheaux and his wife, Susannah, reared twelve children; four sons, Jacob, John, James, Paul and Abraham, who was killed by the Indians while a young man; and seven daughters; Jane who married a Legrand; Nannie never married; Susannah, a Quinn; Judith a Morgan; Elizabeth, Sanborne Woodson; Agnes, Richard Woodson; and Esther, a Cunningham. Jacob married Judith Woodson, and had four children, Jacob, Joseph, Elizabeth and Judith; from this last Jacob, the grandson of Abraham, are descended all that bare the Micheaux name in Virginia.

The female descendants of this large family reared families whose daughters intermarried with families that have multiplied exceedingly; their descendants are to be found in Virginia in great numbers, and in Kentucky, and the more Western and Southern States, in all the different professions and honourable occupations of life, as physicians, ministers of the gospel, lawyers, merchants, bank officers, military men, planters and farmers. With this family

it is necessary to connect three others, the Venable, the Morton, and the Watkins, all becoming first connected with this family by intermarrying with the grand daughters who bore the name of Woodson. These will be noticed in order.

2d. The Venable family. The ancestors of this family went from New Rouen, in Normandy in France, where there is a town called Venables to this day. He accompanied William the Conqueror, was at the battle of Hastings; and settled under Hugh Lupus, in the county Palatinate of Cluster, and was one of the Palatine Barons of the county. About the close of the seventeenth century, two brothers, the younger branches of the family, Abraham and Joseph Venables, emigrated to America. They were both Presbyterians in their principles. They parted when within the Capes of the Chesapeake; Joseph went to the colony of Lord Baltimore, and settled at Snow Hill, Somerset county, accepted the terms of his toleration, and established a place of worship on his land. He sat, under the ministry of Francis Makemie, at whose request a license was given for the house of worship on Joseph Venables' land. After the lapse of more than a century and a half the Presbyterian Church still prospers at Snow Hill. The other brother, Abraham, went up James river, settled in Hanover county, now Fluvanna, married a widow lady, whose maiden name was Mildred Lewis. He left one son, who bore his father's name, Abraham Venable, dropping the s from his name. He married a Miss Davies, of Augusta county, one of a numer-

ous family, who mostly removed to Kentucky in its early settlement. This Abraham Venable reared eight children; the sons were Abraham, Nathaniel, James, Charles, William, Lewis; from whom all the Venable families in Virginia are descended. The daughters were Mrs. Moormans, Mrs. King, and Mrs. Morton. Nathaniel married Elizabeth Woodson, and thus became connected with the Mischeaux family. She was a woman of great mental and physical endowments, and reared her numerous family with a high sense of morality, religion, and honour. His descendants by the male and female lines, are very numerous in Virginia, and also in Tennessee.

3d. The Morton family. This family is reckoned of English origin, though the name points to Scotland. Their first residence in Virginia was in Orange county. Active and enterprising, and remarkable for their probity and kindness, two of the young men were employed by the Randolph family to locate and survey their large grant of lands on the branches of the Roanoke. These two married, each, a granddaughter of Abraham and Susannah Mischeaux; and with two others of the name of Morton, (not brothers, but connexions,) settled on the Roanoke waters, in the present counties of Charlotte and Prince Edward. Joseph Morton married Agnes Woodson, daughter of Richard Woodson, and took his abode at a place still known as Little Roanoke Bridge. The other, John Morton, married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sanborne Woodson. This family was attached to Rev. Samuel Davies' ministry. A son of this man, Cap-

tain John Morton, took Mr. Davies, in one of his preaching excursions, to the house of his relative and connexion, Joseph Morton, at the Bridge. Religious services were held in the evening for the family and a few neighbours that were invited to join in the worship. A part of the result of that evening's service was the hopeful conversion of Mrs. Morton, and abiding serious impressions on the husband. Mrs. Morton, a woman of marked character and great influence, became an active Christian. She and her husband took the lead in the formation of the little band of hopeful converts, under the preaching of Davies and his coadjutors in that neighbourhood, into a church connexion, by the name of Briery Church.

The Morton families were prolific, and the children, carefully instructed in religion and led on by example, became, like their parents, professing members of the church. The influence is not yet lost on their descendants.

5th. The Watkins family. From memoranda by F. N. Watkins. This family was of Welsh descent. A number of the name emigrated to Virginia. Two brothers settled, one near Richmond, and the other on the Rapphannock, where the frontiers of the State commenced at the head of tide water. From the loss, or omission in the making of genealogical memoranda, the descendants of those brothers, and others of the name, cannot be distinctly traced. There was a Watkins among the colonists at Manakin town. Mr. F. N. Watkins traces with distinctness his descent from Thomas Watkins, of Swift Creek, in Pow-

hatan county, through his eldest son Thomas, of Chickahominy. Francis, the second son of this Thomas, married Agnes Woodson, daughter of Richard Woodson, and granddaughter of Abraham Micheaux. From this branch of the Watkins family have arisen numerous families, both in Virginia and Kentucky. The intermarriages with the Venables and Mortons have been frequent, particularly those of the Micheaux-Woodson stock; and many other names have been added to the family tree.

These three families—the Venable, Morton, and Watkins—have partaken largely of the spirit of the Woodson-Micheaux mothers, whose memories are carefully cherished for their moral worth, and domestic virtues, and elevated spirit. These families have preserved genealogical memoranda to a larger extent than is usual. Some of the names of families connected by marriage, are Legrand, a Huguenot name, Quinn, Morgan, Cunningham, Daniel, Mosby, Smith, Lockett, Womack, Wilson, Reed, Archer Walthall, Mason, Swann, Matthews, Hill, Scott, Kilpatrick, Rice, Whary, Leach, Shepherdson, Carrington, Anderson, Moorman, King, Nance, Hughes, McNutt, Leigan, Martin, Cocke, Comfort, Gaines, Williams, Calhoun, Norvall, Spencer, Abbot, Sayle, Cochran, Hanna, Canfield, Chase, Flournoy, Robards, Wood, Branch, Haze.

All these families took an active part in the Revolutionary war, and have a name and a place among the patriots of those days. They formed a part of that constituency of whom John Randolph of Roa-

noke was so proud: "a constituency with whom I have grown up—whose fathers I knew, and who knew me from a child,—a constituency such as no other man ever had;" a constituency that gloried in him as an incorruptible patriot, though an excentric man. These, with other families of similar origin, whose geneology has not been preserved, or not yet come to light, together with the Scotch-Irish colony on Buffalo Creek, in Prince Edward, with their preacher, Mr. Sanky, and the one on Ceel Creek, in Charlotte, took an active part in forming those Presbyterian congregations that have increased and multiplied in that region of country. It has not been the lot of every emigrant, however pious and devoted to a Godly life, to be followed with such a numerous company of descendants as the "Little Night-cap,"\* whose sufferings, like many other Huguenots, began when a child.

5th. The Dupuy family. The Dupuy family held an honourable position in the history of France. Hugo Dupuy, a chevalier of Dauphiny, joined the crusaders for the recovery of the Holy Land, taking

\*There is some discrepancy in the traditions of the different branches of the Micheaux descendants respecting Susannah Rochette. Was she the second or third daughter of the family? and were the terms, "Little Night-cap," and the "leaving France in a hogshead," to be attributed to the same person; or did one belong to the second, and one to the third daughter? The decision of these questions is of little consequence, as the escaping from France in a hogshead was not an uncommon event; and the using terms for names was, in correspondence, of frequent occurrence. The meaning to be conveyed is, that great difficulties attended their escape, and great address was necessary to overcome them.



with him his three sons. Adolphe, the eldest son, fell in battle; Romaine, the second son, died in possession of the briefs he held through Godfrey Bouillon; Raymond, the third son, succeeded Girard De Martigues as rector of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and was the first who assumed the title of Grand Master of the Knightshospital of St. John of Jerusalem. The shield they bore to Palestine was adorned with a red lion, with a blue tongue and claws, upon a field of gold. The shield of the knights was a cross of silver upon a red field. Raymond took for his shield the two quartered, two lions and two crosses. The descendants maintained the honourable position of their ancestors.

In consequence of the rigour preceding and accompanying the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Bartholomew Dupuy fled from France, and in the beginning of the eighteenth century, emigrated to Virginia, and made part of the colony of Manakin town. He was born in the year 1650. He became a soldier at 18 years of age, and served fourteen years. In that time he was in fourteen pitched battles, in Flanders; was promoted to be Lieutenant, and transferred to the household guards of Louis XIV. He was often sent on important business that required the signature of the King as his authority. One of those signatures was the means of his escape, when forced to make his choice, between abjuring his religion, great bodily suffering, perhaps death, or flight from his native land.

About the year 1682 he retired from the service, purchased a vineyard, and was married to Susannah Lavillon, a young countess of good standing in society, possessed of a villa, and of the Huguenot faith. In leaving the army temporarily, he did not lose the favour of the King; nor by his religion, the regard of the Romish priest, the curé of the parish. Before the Edict of Nantes was issued, a messenger of the King waited on him with information of what was preparing for the Huguenots, and urged him to abjure his religion, and rely on the favour of the King for future promotion. After sometime the curé of the parish came with a company of six armed men. At the sight of armed men, Bartholomew drew his sword and resented the intrusion. The priest entreated him to forbear; that resistance would be vain, as other forces would come if necessary; and besought him to be reconciled to the Romish church. After some earnest discussion with the priest, he asked for a little time to reflect upon the whole matter, affirming that his decision should be speedily made known. The priest assented to the proposition, and the soldiers left him towards evening. He immediately sent for his tailor, and inquired if he could make a handsome suit for his vallet in six hours. He assented that it might be done. And he kept private? The tailor, accustomed to such orders, asserted that that also could be done. By midnight the clothes were brought, and an extra price paid for the neatness and celerity of the job. His young and handsome wife was attired in the new dress, with a riding cloak and

cap ; and he put on his best military dress ; and choosing his two best horses, before the day dawned they were far on their journey to the borders, taking their money and jewelry, with their Bibles and Psalm books and a few articles of dress. For eighteen days the officer and his vallet pursued their journey with great speed. Frequently interrogated about his business and speed, he replied that he was on important business that demanded haste ; and when more particularly pressed, he added that he had the King's orders in his pocket. As he approached the borders, the interrogatories were more frequent and pressing, and were answered with the polite brevity of a courtier that was annoyed by any continued familiarity. On the last day, the guard stationed to arrest all refugees, roughly bid him stop, and demanded his passport. Drawing the King's order from his pocket, he exposed the King's signature and seal, and then, drawing his sword, fiercely demanded why his progress was impeded. The guard hastily made way for him to proceed. His vallet frequently attracted the attention of the soldiers and officers as they passed, and received compliments, and sometimes inuendos, for gracefulness and beauty. After passing the last guard in France, they rode on with the utmost speed till they were assured of being beyond the power of Louis XIV. ; then dismounting, they sat down, and embraced each other, and wept, and prayed, and sang the 40th Psalm : "I waited patiently for the Lord, and He inclined unto me and heard my cry ; He brought me up also out of an horrible pit, out of the

miry clay, and set my feet upon a rock and established, my goings."

In what manner he employed himself the fourteen years he remained in Germany, is not recorded. In 1699 he went to England upon the public invitation of King William III. promising to refugee emigrants to the colonies, a free passage, and freedom of religion. About the year 1700 he joined the colony of Manakin town on the banks of the James river, and there ended his days. His descendants in the male and female line are very numerous. The sword he used while a soldier in the service of Louis XIV. is still preserved by his descendants. It was worn by Captain James Dupuy, of Nottoway, in the Revolutionary War, in which he and his two brothers, Captain John Dupuy, and Lieutenant Peter Dupuy, served faithfully. In the battle of Guilford the Captain used the sword, and he replaced the ancient, worn out scabbard by one picked up on the field of battle. The blade of the sword, according to the fashion of the times, was straight, about three feet in length, triangular in shape, very strong at the hilt, and tapering regularly to the point. On his death-bed the Captain addressed a young grandson, John James Dupuy, son of Dr. Wm. J. Dupuy of Petersburg, "Take my old sword there, make use of it in a good cause only; it has never been drawn in a bad one. Fight for your country and your faith; So God shall bless you."

"In the war of 1812," writes a descendant of Lieutenant Peter Dupuy, in the year 1864, "their descend-

ants bore honourable parts in the service of their country, and in the present struggle almost every male descendant of proper age and physical ability, certainly every descendant of my father are engaged in their country's service, save two noble youths who lost their lives; one, the late Col. Robert McKinney was killed at the head of his regiment at Dam No. 1, near Lee's mill, on the Peninsula, April 16th 1862; the other, David Bridges, who, after going through Jackson's campaign in the Valley, participating in the battles before Richmond, Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, in which latter sanguinary engagement, he continued at his post, though much too sick to be out of bed, until victory crowned our standard, and then when completely exhausted, was brought home to die among his own family. Several of the other boys have been wounded, but are all at their posts again."

"In regard to the descendants of the Huguenots I do not speak thus of my family only, I am yet to learn of the *first one* ever having been arraigned at the bar of justice on a charge of any felonious character. This is very remarkable when it is known that the original settlers, (of Manakin town,) included Nobility, Gentry and Peasantry. Please excuse the seeming egotism of this note which I have spun out much longer than I designed.

Most respectfully yours,

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Names of some of the families connected by marriage with the Dupuy family. Osborne, Johns, Pat-

tersen, Marshall, Epes, Jeter, Barksdale, Knight, Blanche, Lavalette, Cooper, Patterson, Taliaferro, Bridges, McKinney, Atchison, Foster, Gozee, Bran- nies, Ratcliff, Caldwell, Dodge, Elley, Corley, Tucker, Owen, Smith, Raser, Rowzee, Richardson, Fields, Wadely, Shannon, Newton, Davidson, Ross, Davies, Togg, Snead, Thomason, Redman, Hayson, Buckner, Suggell, Campbell, Bosey, McClure, Brinker, Prior, Thomas, Deane, Branham, Allen, Rowland, Terry, Major, Gunnell, Clarkson, Hatcher, Filman, Lewellen, Johns, Sutton, Clayton, Mintur and Gow.

6th. The Fontaine and Maury families. James Fontaine, the head of the American branches of the two families—Fontaine and Maury—never saw America. After being compelled to leave France, and spend his life in exile in the kingdom of Great Britian, he collected with much care the incidents of the family history, for the advantage of his children, having an especial regard to those who emigrated to America. The memoranda are of facts of family history, and of circumstances common to all the suffering and exiled Huguenots, but not recorded by any emigrants to America. He is authority for the statements, given either in his own words, or in an abridged form.

His father's grandfather was born about the year 1500. At a very early period of his life he received a commission in the "Ordnances du Roi," in the household of Francis I., about the tenth or twelfth year of that monarch's reign. He retained his office through the reign of that monarch, of Henry II.,

and of Francis II. In the second year of Charles IX. he resigned his commission, and retired to his paternal estate, in Maine, with a wife and four sons. He and his father were converts to the doctrines and practice of the Reformed as early as the year 1535. They felt themselves safe in the King's service, and under the edict of pacification, of 1561.

In the year 1563, a band of ruffians, in order to scatter a congregation of Huguenots, of which he was the principal member and protector, dragged him from his house at midnight, and murdered him by cutting his throat. His wife, rushing to his assistance, was also massacred, together with a faithful servant. The eldest son, absent from home, was put to death elsewhere. The three younger sons, aged fourteen, twelve, and nine years, fled in dismay from the scene, and by the watchful providence of God, reached Rochelle, begging their way, moving pity by the story of their bereavement, and making friends by their manners.

The grandfather of Mr. Fontaine, the eldest surviving son that escaped to Rochelle, was taken home by a shoemaker, kindly treated, and taught his trade, without being apprenticed according to law. On arriving at maturity, he engaged in trade and prospered; was pronounced by Henry IV. one of the handsomest men in his kingdom. He reared three children—the two elder, daughters, and the youngest, a son, born in 1603.

The son, the father of Mr. Fontaine, bore his father's name—James—was of a delicate constitu-

tion, and from the earliest age, very fond of books. The noted Huguenot minister, Merlin of Rochelle, encouraged the education of the lad. The Countess of Royan patronized him, committing to him, while he pursued his divinity studies at Saumur, the superintendence of the college studies of a young relative, and sending him as travelling tutor and companion for him through many countries of Europe. Having perfected himself in various living languages, he returned to France, and became pastor of the Reformed French churches of Veaux and Royan. He was married in 1628 to a lady he met with in London on his travels; and reared three sons and three daughters. Was married the second time in 1641, and reared two sons and three daughters. The youngest child was a son, the author of the narrative, and bore the name of his father and grandfather, born April 4th, 1658, at Jenoville, a place owned by his mother. He was about eight years old at his father's death, in 1666. The description he gives of his father's ministerial deportment was derived partly from the recollections of his boyhood, and partly from the statements of others. He says his father never appeared before his people in any other character or occupation than a minister of the gospel, and pastor of the flock of Christ; the trading and trafficking of the family was always done by his wife, as part of the domestic employment. Avoiding entertainments, he hastened to visit the sick and afflicted; was skilful in promoting peace in his own flock, and that of others; his voice and manner were very pleasant,



and his success in the ministry great. He remained his whole life with his first charges, though solicited to remove to Rochelle. Believing that times of persecution were coming, he prepared his flock for the trial; and when it did come, a greater proportion of the people of Veaux and Royan than was usual, remained firm to their faith, and chose exile rather than conformity to Popery.

Of his brothers and brothers-in-law, Mr. Fontaine says, five were ministers in the Reformed French Church. His brother James died pastor of Archiae, before the great persecution. His brother Peter was his father's successor, and being banished the kingdom, closed his life in London. Another brother, who was in the ministry, was induced, by the persuasions of his wife, to conform to the Romish church, to save his property. His brother-in-law, Sautreau, after his church in Saintonge was condemned, went first to Dublin; and on his voyage to America, was wrecked near Boston, and was lost, with his wife and children. His other brother-in-law, Mr. Forrester, with whom he spent a year in preparation for the ministry, a faithful and courageous minister, was put in prison; and got his liberty by the decision of the parliament of Paris. His church building was pulled down, and a second one was condemned; he was put in prison the second time, and finally escaped to England; his wife cheering him in his sufferings and sharing them heroically

Of his own education Mr. Fontaine gives a graphic account, and shows that the same errors and disputes

and successes were shared by teachers and pupils two hundred years ago as at the present day, in all of which he took his share; and with great frankness approving and condemning many matters, on which others will greatly differ with him. While a candidate for the sacred office, he was in the habit of inviting to his house for private worship his neighbours who were without instruction, after their church at Veaux had been thrown down; and proceeded without interruption in these secret meetings till the spring of 1684. Not being authorized to administer the sacrament, he went to the other side of the province to enjoy, with others, its administration; and remained some weeks. In his absence some of his neighbours assembled at his house, retired to a wood in the rear, and held religious worship, a Mason officiating by reading some chapters of the Bible, the approved prayers of the Church, and a sermon, together with the singing of some psalms. In a few days some eight hundred assembled on the same spot, the same Mason officiating. Shortly an assemblage of about a thousand people engaged in worship at the same place, and under the superintendence of the same man. On the complaint of an attorney, named Agoust, who lived near, a large number of these people were arrested, and with them Mr. Fontaine, who returned from his visit too late to be present at any of the meetings. He went cheerfully to prison with his neighbours, declaring that as he had encouraged them to meet at his house for worship when at home, he would suffer with them for having assem-

bled in his absence. In prison he contrived, notwithstanding all obstructions and discouragements, to pray with the sufferers; and by his courageous defence in the trial, he succeeded in obtaining the acquittal of the accused, and the remission of all their fines at a personal expense of about two thousand livres.

In giving a history of the circumstances of his trial, he gives the proceedings of the courts. Their forms were very different from the English or American legal proceedings. 1st: One witness at a time was introduced to the court; the other witnesses were not permitted to hear or know what he had testified. The testimony was recorded as it was given in. The accused was permitted to ask the witness what questions he pleased, and to have any answer of the witness recorded as part of his testimony. The witness and the accused were then required each to sign the record of the testimony. This proceeding was called, *The Confrontation*. Some of the officers objected to some of the questions put by Mr. Fontaine, and to the recording of the answers. The accused positively refused to sign the Confrontation. The President finding that he would be put to great difficulty unless he yielded to Mr. Fontaine this exercise of a lawful privilege, ordered the answers to be recorded. 2nd: After the Confrontation was closed, the president, on behalf of the King, cross-examined the witnesses and the accused, and had such answers as he desired, recorded. This was called the Recollement. 3d: In the Court the prisoner defended himself and was not allowed an advocate. The Confront-

ation and Recollement were read and no witnesses were brought forward a second time. The accused must abide by the recorded evidence. He was asked if the statement was correct, and the signature was his. The judges examined him more fully, and as the case admitted an appeal, they noted down such answers as they considered important. The accused was then sent to prison; and his sentence sent to him in writing. This was severe, a heavy fine, and to be forever incapable of the holy ministry. 4th: He appealed to the parliament of Bordeaux, and sent up his statement of the case which was called the *Factum*. The parliament reversed the sentence against him and his neighbours. After countless delays at the offices of the clerks seeking for larger fees he obtained the discharge.

Mr. Fontaine describes the proceedings of the dragoons in terms equally as graphic as those given by other writers, having witnessed their outrages himself. "Each dragoon was a sovereign judge and executioner."

On invitation, he attended a meeting of twelve ministers and as many elders, at Coses, to consult what ought to be done. Being asked his opinion, he said there was nothing left them but to take arms and leave the issue to God; others objected. A large meeting was held at Royan, to answer the Intendants recommendation to change their religion. Mr. Fontaine proposed to take arms and defend themselves; this was declined.

Crowds assembled at the sea-side seeking a passage beyond sea. The Curé met them and promised that

Royan should not be visited by dragoons. Some believed him and went back ; others persevered and got safe to other countries. The Curé endeavoured to persuade Mr. Fontaine that Royan was safe. Mr. Fontaine convinced him that the dragoons would come, and persuaded him to go and tell the people he had promised too much. On the following day great numbers embarked ; and on the fourth day the dragoons came. The people that did not mean to recant, and could not escape to other countries fled to the woods. “I left the home of my childhood, never to return to it, about midnight. I took with me about five hundred francs, which was all the ready money I had, two good horses, upon one of which I rode myself, and my valet was mounted on the other with a portmanteau containing a few necessaries. One of my horses was an Arabian, remarkably fleet. I knew that none of the dragoons could overtake me when mounted on him. I went to St. Merme to see Mr. Forrester and my sister Mary, but found they had fled. The first stoppage I made was at the house of my Aunt Jagauld, my mother’s sister. Her son had changed his religion to escape dragooning ; but the old lady was unshaken, and I believe remained so to the day of her death. I went next day to Jonzac where I had two married sisters living, and sad to relate they had both recanted, to escape the dragoons. I was extremely distressed, but continued my travels towards Meslars to visit my dear sister Anne, and my heart was cheered to find this, my favourite sister, firm in her faith, even though her husband had abjured his

religion. She gave him no peace till he agreed to take her out of France. In travelling about the country, I discovered an extent of defection, that was most lamentable; and I was so afflicted and depressed by it, I became sick. I often encountered parties of soldiers, and had become so low spirited that I used to think I should not be sorry if they took away my life."

He frequently met dragoons; his dress being that of a country gentleman, his salute was returned very civilly, and he passed without molestation. His greatest anxiety was for the welfare and escape of her who afterwards, in England, became his wife. A shelter was found for her under the roof of a Mr. Brejou, an advocate, who had changed his religion and was managing the estates of the Duke of Montansieu.

Being convinced that there was no safety for the Reformed but in flight, he made preparations to escape. An English captain agreed to take him and four or five others with him, to England, at the rate of ten pistoles each. He took to Tremblade, the place for embarkation, his affianced, Anne Elizabeth Boursiquet, and her sister Elizabeth, and his niece Janette Forrester. "The latter was my god-daughter, and I felt it incumbent on me to provide for her safety." Assembled on the sands near the front of Avert, to take the boat, were some fifty young people, whose carelessness about concealing their purpose to leave France, betrayed the company, and the vessel was detained at the custom-house on suspicions. He and

his company returned to Tremblade. Their hiding place was discovered; and an officer came in search of them in half an hour after they had left it. Going from one house to another they often found more kindness from the fishwomen, than from the affluent, who had more to lose, and had changed their religion. On the 30th of November (new style), 1685, having made the necessary arrangements, his party, with two young men from Bordeaux, and six young women from Marennes, embarked in a little shallop, and in the night passed all the guard boats, and fort Oleron, and by ten o'clock next day were waiting for the vessel to transport them to England.

The signal agreed upon with the captain of the vessel, by which he should know the shallop, was, "the hoisting a sail, and letting it fall three times." The vessel got under way about 3, P. M.; at the same time a guard vessel came in sight and approached them. The vessel was searched most carefully in every part, the shallop being near, and the refugees covered up by the tackling. No passengers were found on board the vessel, except the minister Mausy and his family, who had passports. The vessel was ordered to sail immediately, the wind being fair. By many manoeuvrings the shallop's hands let the captain know, by the concerted sign, that the refugees were on board, and then, by other manoeuvres, contrived to get them about twilight on board, without exciting the suspicion of the guard ship. The voyage to England occupied about eleven days, as the winds were contrary. The provisions gave out,

and their drink was water from sleet and snow, caught on cloths and melted. On the 12th of December, new style, they landed at Appledore, a little town on the British Channel, below the river Tow, on which stands Barnstable. The people received the refugees with the greatest kindness. After paying the expenses of the passage, Mr. Fontaine had left twenty gold pistoles.

Mr. Fontaine began at once to look around for the opportunities and means of sustaining himself and those depending on him. For a time he succeeded, by teaching. In 1688, June 10th, he was ordained at Taunton to the work of the gospel ministry; and entered on his work as a minister of the Reformed French Church. "I was aware that the Episcopalians possessed all the church benefices and filled all the offices of trust throughout the kingdom. I preferred the simplicity of divine worship to which I had been accustomed from my childhood, to the grandeur and wealth of the Episcopalians. I was attached to the leaves of the tree of life, as well as to the trunk, branches and fruit; and in my exile, I determined to join myself to that company of believers who most nearly resembled those with whom I had suffered in my own country. I resolved rather to labour with my hands while I preached the pure doctrines of the gospel, and admitted only the simplest ceremonies, than to wound my conscience by entering the Church which was upheld by the State. I presented myself before the Protestant Synod, assembled at Taunton. I produced the testimonials of my educa-



tion, manner of life and sufferings, which I had brought with me from France. I then underwent examination, and received holy orders from their hands, having an earnest desire to exercise the functions with all the Christian humility, zeal and affection of which I was capable. After leaving Barnstable, I was never again so poor as to receive charity." The "charity" he speaks of as having received was from a fund, raised expressly for the aid of the refugees from France.

The churches of refugees to which he preached were composed of people who had lost most, if not all of their property, on leaving France. His salary from them was of course small. In some cases he refused to receive any recompense. He married Miss Bourriquet; and as his expenses of living increased upon him, he turned his attention to various employments for a livelihood. Always holding an honourable report for uprightness, enterprise, ingenuity, and courage, he was a beautiful instance of French capacity and Huguenot endurance, equal to any and all the emergencies of refugee life. At one time he taught French in families; at another engaging in trade in a moderate way; at another introducing a new style of goods, manufactured under his direction, and defending himself before the magistrate, against the charge of a breach of English law, (which forbade the exercise of any trade by those who had not served an apprenticeship,) by pleading that he introduced a new style of manufacture, and enriched the country by an act which no apprentice could learn but at his

manufactory; at another time engaged in fishing; and defending his house, upon the sea shore, against French pirates in a manner truly romantic; and finally engaging in a boarding-school, which was his last occupation. He reared a family of five sons, the sixth dying young: and two daughters. To all his children he secured a good education.

The marriage of his son Peter took place March, 1714. "It was about the time that we began to turn our eyes towards America, as a country that would be most suitable for the future residence of the family. John was without employment; it was therefore determined that he should make a voyage to America, travel through every part where the climate was temperate, and purchase a plantation, in such situation as he judged would prove in all respects the most advantageous. He landed in Virginia, travelled through that colony, as well as parts of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, to the town of New York. He came to the conclusion that Virginia presented the most desirable circumstances, taking everything into consideration. He purchased a plantation there, and also found a parish in the vicinity of his purchase, which he thought would suit Peter, and wrote to him to that effect. Peter had taken his degree and was ready to be ordained. He accordingly went to London, and received ordination from the hand of the Bishop of London, who is also Bishop of all the British colonies. In February or March they were in London, and embarked for Virginia, and found their brother John impatiently wait-

ing for them. He became minister of Westover Parish. His son James sailed for Virginia in April, 1717 with his wife, child, and mother-in-law. The voyage was disastrous from stormy weather; but they arrived safe, and were conducted by their brother John to the home he had provided for them. The eldest daughter, Mary Anne, was married to Matthew Maury, of Castle Manson, Gascony. He had lived in Dublin two years, a refugee from France. He went to Virginia in 1717; and being well pleased with the country, he returned for his family, and embarked with them in 1719. Francis received orders from the Bishop of London, and went to Virginia with letters of recommendation to the Governor. He was settled at St. Margaret's Parish, King William county.

The mother of the family died in 1721. The father withdrew from public life, having closed his boarding-school, and living with his youngest daughter. His son John returned from Virginia, and spent his life in England, leaving his three brothers, two of them Episcopal ministers, and one sister in the colony. From these descended a numerous progeny, of the names of Fontaine and Maury. The females intermarried with other families. Some of the names of the families thus connected with the Huguenots have been collected by one of the descendants of James Fontaine.

Owen, Mills, Winston, Patrick, Dillon, Jacob, Saunders, Vernon, Floyd, Pope, Prather, Bullock, Cosby, Oakley, Beavors, Thompson, Armstead, Lewis,

Rose, Peacham, Terrill, Lee, Alexander, Selden, Dandridge, Beckwith, Dabney, Knapp, Lloyd, Lippett, Laniers, Potts, De Butts, Potts, Waller, Anderson, Redd, Bradford, Bolton, Hereford, Perkins, Brooke, Grymes, Jankersley, Catlett, Spears, Llewellyn, Thornton, McQuinn, Stewart, besides those who were connected with families of the Huguenot stock. 2d: Females, descendants of one of the two men by the name of Maury, that reared families in America, intermarried with families other than Huguenots, viz: Claiborne, Strachan, Lewis, Herndon, Eggleston, Triplett, Tatum, Dowsing, Parrish, DeGraffenreid, White, Fry, Lightfoot, Hay, Hite, Polk, Vass, Gregory, Hause, Digges, Bagby, Ludlow, Guthrie, Holland, Boyd, Thomson, Bussy, Ware, Turner, Potway, Reid, Harris, Garrett, Reese, Stewart, Owen, Wallace, Berkley, Ludlow, Euhelberger, Williams, Davison, Lodor, Bird, Green, Smith, Hill, Magruder, Haverstick, Brown, Ratcliff, Alfred, Conway, Crawford, Pierie, Potter, Balthus, Dawson, Arnold, Thomas, Hume, Curran, Humphreys, Harding, besides those connected with families of the Huguenot descent.

7th. The Jacqueline family, at Jamestown, when it was a town, was of Huguenot descent. The ancestor of the family emigrated from Le Vendie in the time of Charles IX., just before the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, 1572, taking a large portion of his wealth with him, to England. Edward Jacqueline emigrated to Virginia and joined the colony at Jamestown. He married into the Carey family, and had three sons

and three daughters. The sons all died before their father. The eldest daughter married Richard Ambler of Yorktown. The second married a man by the name of Smith, from whom were descended the family of Smiths near Winchester, Frederick county. Richard Ambler, that married the eldest daughter, was from Yorkshire, England. He inherited the Jamestown property. From him descended the Amblers of Virginia, in Richmond and Augusta. His daughter, Mary, was married to John Marshall, afterwards, the Chief Justice of the United States. John Ambler married the daughter of Philip Burch, of Winchester. The descendants of these families have spread far and wide, and have been honoured by their countrymen. The particular circumstances attending the emigration of this family from France to England, and from England to America, have not been preserved; or if they are in being, the manuscripts have not yet come to light. The general outlines were undoubtedly the same as those hitherto described. The particulars will be interesting if ever discovered.

8th. The Moncure family. Rev. John Moncure, of Stafford, of the Episcopal Church, was of Huguenot descent. One of his daughters became the wife of General Wood, afterwards Governor of the State. Mrs. Wood was highly esteemed in Richmond for her endowments and her virtues. When the first effort was made to erect churches in Richmond, that Christian assemblies might not depend upon the State Capital, or private houses, for their public worship,

she favoured the good work. Rev. John H. Rice, D. D., found in her a warm friend and helper, and ever spoke of her with the highest esteem and friendship. There is still in existence a correspondence between the Doctor and Mrs. Wood, highly creditable to the piety and judgment of Mrs. Wood. The descendants of Mr. Moncure have been in high esteem in their native State; and frequently to be found in public stations. Not bigoted in religious forms, they are believers in the gospel their ancestor delighted to explain, and from which he drew his consolation, whether he read it in the original language, or the French or English translation. Those Huguenots that entered the service of denominations that differed in forms from the Church of their nativity, carried no exclusive spirit with them; but cherished feelings of kindness for those that love the Lord Jesus, of whatever name.

9. The Micou family. Paul Micou, a Huguenot, left Nantes, in France. After spending some years in exile, probably in England, he emigrated to Virginia, and took his residence on the Rappahannock, and gave his name to a landing place. He had been educated in France for the bar. A man of great and acknowledged worth. He died May 23d, 1736, aged seventy-eight years. His tomb-stone, of heavy black marble, is still to be seen deeply sunk in the earth. One of his daughters married Mr. Gisborne, an Episcopal preacher in Richmond county, who was the minister in charge while the noted Rev. James Waddell preached in Lancaster and Northumberland.

Another daughter, Judith Micou, married Lunsford Lomax. His son, Major Thomas Lomax, was the father of Judge Lomax, long and favourably known in the Virginia courts. Another daughter of Mr. Micou married Moore Fauntleroy. The descendants of this emigrant have been widely scattered, and favourably known in Virginia. The particular circumstances of his emigration have not been preserved, or not made public. The character for uprightness, firmness, and domestic virtues, which he bequeathed his descendants, has been their passport to public favour and private enjoyment. They may glory in the French lawyer from Nantes, and visit the black marble that covers his remains, when they are tempted to despond under any troubles that may come upon them, under the Providence of that God he feared.

10. The Latanè family. Mr. Latanè, the ancestor of his family, fled with the great company of Huguenots, and for the same general reasons, being shut up to the choice of being an exile, or enduring untold suffering, or abandoning his religion. In England he received ordination from the Bishop of London, to whom belonged the oversight of the established Church in Virginia; and in the year 1701 emigrated to that province. He became the minister of South Farnham Parish, Essex county, and continued in the performance of his duties till his death, in 1732. He left one son and five daughters. Too little is known of the amiable and irreproachable man who for thirty-one years preached the faith for which he had been exiled. With many other Huguenots, he believed

the form of government of the different Protestant churches should not be a cause of discord among those who held the same doctrinal creed. In his retired parish on the Rappahannock he was undisturbed in his construction of the thirty-nine articles in the Huguenot sense of the doctrines. Without the visitation of a bishop, he used the English liturgy in public worship; and was a useful minister in his day and generation. One of his granddaughters, Lucy Latanè, became the wife of Payne Waring, a noted agriculturalist, of Essex; and her daughter became the wife of R. Baylor, also noted for his success and enterprize in farming pursuits.

There were some in his parish that were not pleased with the doctrines of grace held forth by him from the pulpit; they preferred a kind of preaching that dwelt more on moral principles and duties than on Christian faith. These discontented people wished to have a change of ministry. But what charge could be urged before the proper authority for depriving Mr. Latanè of his parish? He was of unexceptionable morals, attentive to the duties of his office, evidently well read in theology, and a man of general education; affable and unobtrusive. His opposers objected that they could not understand him; not that his ideas were confused, or badly clothed in words, or that his manner of delivery was bad; but that he retained the French accent, which was disagreeable to them, and made them lose his ideas; that they could not be edified by his sermons on account of his foreign pronounciation. The matter went



to a great length of personal annoyance to the minister; and was finally given up on the receipt of a letter from one in high authority in the State and Church. Mr. Latané, riding near his house, met one of his opponents; and after some conversation, asked him to go in and take some spirit and water. The person assented. Before they parted Mr. Latané observed to him: "When I preach and tell you how to do right, you cannot understand me; but when I ask you to what may lead you to do wrong, you can understand me very well." The difficulty in the way of understanding was in the man's heart.

11. The Cazenove family—from a letter from one of the descendants.

REV. WILLIAM HENRY FOOTE—Sir: I have seen in the papers that you desire to obtain new and authentic particulars of the history of families, tracing their origin back to French Protestants. As all family records were left in Alexandria, I have jotted down only such things as I chanced to remember, not with any desire to make a display, for matters of greater moment perhaps have been omitted; but acknowledging a pride in honourable and honest ancestors, on both sides of the house, I have told you only such things as stick closest to the memory.

The family De Cazenove, (or De Castionovo, which is the original orthography of the name,) was an old and respectable one in the south of France. The name and history began with a knight, who, in the year, 993, added the name to his baptismal appella-

tion, adopted a "new castle" as his coat-of-arms, and styled himself, *Sieur Cazenove*. The members of this family led the usual life of the nobility and gentry in Provence and Languedoc. Several knights of the name engaged in the crusades. Their participation in tournaments is frequently recorded; and frequent gifts and legacies to monasteries, churches, &c., are mentioned, bestowed by the ladies of the family to propitiate the favour of the Church, and smother the importunities of the priests. Honourable and even illustrious alliances, during this time, were numerous; and during the reign of Henry IV. *Guilliam De Cazenove* was entitled Admiral. But during the religious troubles, wars, and persecutions, extending from the time of the Reformation to the revocation of Henry IV.'s Edict of Nantes, the Cazenoves lost their property, which was the usual fate of the Protestants. Some of the family fled to Switzerland. *Paul Cazenove*, who married *Marie Plantamore*, of Noyons, and his three sons were admitted citizens of Geneva. They abandoned their homes and property, in and near Nismes, for the sake of their religion, and sought a home in that brave and hospitable little republic. They were soon admitted to citizenship, an honour granted to few foreigners, so jealous were the burghers of their privileges, and so threatening was the attitude of Louis Le Grand, on account of their hospitable treatment of these refugee subjects. These French Cazenoves must have been staunch Calvinists, as *Jean*, the eldest son of *Pierre*, married *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Jacob*

Bressonnet, Doctor of Theology, and President of the Consistory. Paul Cazenove, the son of Jean, was so unfortunate as to live in the days of the French Revolution; and he and his two sons, Jean Antoine and Antoine Charles, were imprisoned along with several hundreds of the Genevese aristocracy, and his wife was kept under guard at Mont Brilliant, a beautiful country seat on the banks of the lake Geneva. They were tried before the revolutionary tribunal, and were condemned to death. But fortunately, just at this time, Robespierre was overthrown, and the work of death was stayed. Being obnoxious to the Jacobins (both having been educated at the military school of Calmar in Germany), the two brothers in company with Albert Gallatin sailed to this country to await more quiet times; for Jean had been a military instructor and leader of the aristocracy, and Charles had once held a commission in the unfortunate Swiss body-guard of Louis XVI. The brothers married in this country sisters, the daughters of Edmund Hagan, a political refugee from Ireland. When the troubles in Europe were stilled, Jean returned to Geneva and died leaving no son. Antoine Charles took up his residence about the year 1799 in Alexandria, Virginia, where as a commission merchant and a polished Christian gentleman, he passed a long life highly respected. He retained the faith of his forefathers, and died an elder in the good old Presbyterian Church. His descendants are numerous and widely scattered, from Massachusetts to Georgia.

Other branches of the family might be mentioned,

One settled in Holland, a refugee from the troubles of France. A descendant, Theophile Cazenove, Dutch minister to the United States, led over a colony of Hollanders to central New York, which settled in and around a town called Cazenove. This man had only one child, a daughter.

Another branch returned from Geneva to France, and now resides in Lyons. Raoul De Cazenove is the head. The Huguenot refugees were a noble race of men. They gave up property, home, nobility, all that man holds dear, for conscience' sake; and what is remarkable, we do not find in them that blind intolerant spirit of bigotry and fanaticism which characterized the Puritans under similar circumstances. Strongly inclined generally to follow Calvin, in his peculiar doctrinal system, the descendants of the Huguenots seem to partake of his liberality as to church government and discipline; and whether as Presbyterians or Episcopalians, or aught else, they are tolerant, charitable, and moral. And so may it ever be.

12th. The Mauzy family. Henry Mauzy fled from France in 1685. Tradition has preserved too little concerning the condition and residence of his ancestors. It is known, however, that a Huguenot minister by the name of Mauzy left France in the same vessel that carried James Fontaine to England. It is also known that the parents of Henry Mauzy were accustomed to read the Bible daily, with one of the family on the watch for the approach of any one who might, by giving information, bring them under the

penalty of the severe laws; and in case of danger, the Bible was replaced in its hiding-place, under a trap-door. Some families had a secret sliding-door in the walls of the house; others had double-seated arm-chairs with cushions, and the Bible was kept between the seats, hidden by the drapery of the cushion. Henry Mauzy, like "the little night-cap," left France in a hogshead, labelled as merchandise, and thus escaped the search made for fugitives, from the severity of the laws of Louis, who said, in 1685, he hoped by the time the Duke of Burgundy, (his grandson,) came to years of understanding, he should never know what a Huguenot was, but by history. Emigrating to Virginia, Henry Mauzy took his abode in Fauquier county. He had for his wife a daughter of Dr. Conyers, an Englishman, with whom he probably became acquainted in England. A son of his, John Mauzy, was married to Hester Foote, grand aunt of the Hon. H. S. Foote, member of the Confederate Congress, a resident of Tennessee, (1864.) His son, Henry Mauzy, born in 1721, was married to Elizabeth Taylor, born 1735. He died 1804, aged 83; and she in 1829, aged 94. This couple reared a large family of sons and daughters. The sons were, John, Thomas, Richard, Michael, Joseph, and some others. Joseph, the youngest son and child, was the late Colonel Mauzy of Rockingham; and his son Richard, is the editor of the *Staunton Spectator*, (1864.) One of the daughters of Henry Mauzy and Elizabeth Taylor, named Susannah, born 1765, was

married to Charles Kemper, who was born in 1756. She died in 1843, aged 78; and he in 1841, aged 85.

The descendants from the emigrant, Henry Mauzy, are very numerous, and scattered, of whom but a few have been mentioned. They may all glory in their ancestor, who, for his Protestant faith, suffered the loss of all things, in France, and reared his family in Virginia. Fauquier has many descendants of those who, for conscience' sake, sought a home in the wilderness.

13th. The Lacy family. The ancestor of the Lacy family met with a somewhat peculiar difficulty in finding his way to America. Others were entrapped at different times. He succeeded in overcoming it; while others of his countrymen sunk under it, plundered, and put to death at once, or confined in the horrible galleys.

Louis XIV. used every means in his power to prevent the Huguenots from leaving France, intent on compelling them to change their religion and embrace his, that his "grandchildren might know nothing of the Huguenots but from history." Madame Maintenon wrote to La Comtesse De St. Geron: "The King begins to think seriously of his salvation, and that of his subjects. If God spares him, there will be only one religion in this kingdom. That is the sentiment of M. De Louvois; and I believe him more readily than M. Colbert, who thinks of his finances and rarely of religion"—that is, of the form of religion she cherished at that time. His subjects, the Huguenots, found themselves shut up to the choice

of abjuring their religion, or suffering loss of property, with imprisonment, bodily sufferings, and perhaps death; or clandestinely escape from France with what goods they might take with them. The King endeavoured to take away one choice, and leave them either to abjure, or suffer in any and every way. He set guards on all avenues of escape to foreign lands. Being informed, by his minister in Holland, of the numerous arrivals of fugitive Huguenots, and the wealth brought with them, he redoubled his patrols on the highways, and on the sea shore, and his guard-ships at all ports, with rewards for diligence, and threats for detected failure of appointed duty. The flight of refugees was hindered, but not prevented.

The ministers abroad adopted two other methods of stopping the emigration. One method was to seek the refugees perplexed with the difficulties of exile, and by persuasions, and offers of reward, and vivid pictures of their impending trials, if possible, to induce them to return to France. The faith of some refugees failed, and they returned to France, and made peace with the King. The other method was to meet the refugees, by some of their satellites, receive them kindly, assist them to find lodging, supply their wants, procure employment for them, give or advance them money, and thus gain their confidence; and then to obtain from them, in a stealthy manner, information respecting their friends in France intending to escape, or any property about to be transmitted in any form, and the persons who were acting as agents for them in France; and perhaps have corres-

pondence with these agents, and then lay all the information before the proper authorities in France. Property was seized and confiscated to the informers and the government; and agents and Huguenots, preparing to escape, or on their way, were arrested and made to suffer the penalties of the law. Vessels preparing to sail from foreign ports were watched; and all preparations to convey Huguenots to other countries in Europe, or to the East Indies, or to America, North or South, were noticed; and, as far as possible, the passengers ascertained, the wealth to be transported, and the means of defence; and all this information was forthwith sent to France, that some vessel might be sent, or have leave to go out, or might simply be informed of the intended departure, and an opportunity given in some form for plundering on the high seas. How many vessels that sailed and were never heard of again, were disposed of in this way, can be known only when the sea gives up its dead.

The vessel in which Mr. Lacy sailed was arrested on the high seas by an armed ship without other authority than force. The captors were more greedy for plunder than for blood. After being detained by these pirates for a considerable length of time, and urged to abandon his purpose of going to America, Mr. Lacy escaped from their power, made his way to Virginia, and became one of the colony at Manakin town. His descendants are numerous, and may be found in different States.

As the prospects of the colony for success as a



village or town faded away, and the numerous children grew up, there was not room on ten thousand acres of land in a body for the young families to find a home and subsistence. Emigration to the extended unoccupied country beyond the bounds of the grant of King William's parish became necessary; and went on rapidly till not an acre of the ten thousand is in possession of a descendant of the original owner. William Lacy, (a grandson of the emigrant,) and his wife, Catherine Rice, removed to Chesterfield county. Their son Drury, with a twin sister, was born October 5th, 1758. Two children were entered on the parish records of Manakin town as having been born there; the one in 1741, and the other in 1743; so that the emigration was probably in 1744, or '45. In a few years the other members of the family left the parish. When Drury was about ten years of age, he was beguiled to discharge an over-loaded musket. The piece was shattered, and with it the boy's left hand. This event, in a great measure, decided the future course of his life. His father made great efforts to educate his son; but dying in about two years, and leaving a small estate, somewhat encumbered, the lad was left with his widowed mother. In about four years more his mother died. Friends sympathized with the youth, and by them he was encouraged to obtain an education, and fit himself for a teacher or some profession. His fine appearance, pleasant manners, and sweet voice attracted attention. While engaged in teaching, in a private family, he came under the notice of Rev. John B.

Smith, President of Hampden Sidney College, by whom he was encouraged and assisted in completing a classical education. He became a minister of the gospel; and was for years Vice-President of the college at which he had been educated. He could lift up his voice like a trumpet, and its silvery notes fell sweetly upon the ears of the most distant auditors in large congregations, wherever assembled, in houses, or in the open air. His appeals were most impressive, and often overwhelming. His capability of enduring great and continued efforts in his public ministrations was remarkable. A silver finger affixed to the wrist of his shattered hand gave him the name of "silver hand," or, as people would sometimes call him, "silver fist." The Church remembers him as, Lacy of the "silver hand and silver voice." He married a Miss Smith, and reared three sons and two daughters. Two of the sons became ministers of the gospel, according to the faith of their father and Huguenot ancestors. The eldest son, William Smith Lacy, preached for a time as a missionary, and then became pioneer of the Church in Arkansas. The youngest, Drury, was pastor for some years in Raleigh, North Carolina; then served as President of Davidson College; and after that became chaplain in the State hospitals. The other son became a physician. Each of these sons reared one son for the ministry. Of these, one, the Rev. B. T. Lacy, was the chosen chaplain of the lamented General T. J. Jackson; and another was chaplain in General Lee's army. Two grandsons entered the army. One died in Pe-

tersburg from disease brought on by exposure; and the other, J. Horace Lacy, was a field officer of much active service, whose losses, in property in the neighbourhood of Fredericksburg and in Culpeper, have been great, during the campaigns of which Richmond was the object.

The two daughters each married Presbyterian ministers. The elder became the wife of Samuel Davies Hoge, the son of Rev. Moses Hoge, D. D., the Professor of Theology of the Virginia Synod. Her two sons entered the ministry. The elder, Moses Drury Hoge, is pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, Richmond. During the exciting events of the late civil war, he, in addition to his pastoral duties, performed the work of chaplain to Camp Lee, near the city; often preaching daily to the soldiers under training, for weeks in succession; and, accompanied by the best wishes of good people all over the South, made a voyage to England, and succeeded in obtaining a large grant of Bibles and Testaments for the army. The other son, William James Hoge, died in 1864, pastor of the Tabb Street Church, Petersburg.

The youngest daughter married Rev. James H. Brookes, and reared one son for the ministry, who is now pastor of a church in the city of St. Louis. Thus, from the little boy with the shattered hand, descended two sons and six grandsons for the Christian ministry. Other branches of the family also reared ministers of the gospel, in connexion with other denominations of the Protestant faith, particularly the Baptist.

The beloved and lamented pastor of Tabb Street

Church, Petersburg, William J. Hoge, the grandson of Drury Lacy, was removed from his ministerial work in the prime of his life. He possessed the sweet and far pervading voice and pleasant pulpit manners of his maternal grandfather. He ministered in the Gospel with all his heart. His devoted soul spoke out in his public sermons, his pastoral visits, and his domestic life, the loving kindness of the gospel of the Son of God. He had from taste and feeling and conviction adopted the style of the French pulpit in its best days; not that he had made them a model and a study in preparation for the pulpit, but by trial he found that way of preaching most pleasant to himself and most useful in obtaining the individual attention of his auditory. His endowments favoured that style. It was to him natural. He had most freedom of mental and spiritual action in it. In the female academy in Richmond he was a beloved and successful teacher and lecturer. He was listened to with pleasure and profit as pastor of Westminster church, Baltimore. His preaching gathered large audiences in Farmville, while he was professor in the Theological Seminary. And as a co-pastor of Dr. Spring, in the Brick church, New York, his ministrations were more than acceptable. The house would be filled when he was to preach. His sermons held forth in great prominence the doctrines of grace. He loved to dwell upon the grace of Christ Jesus, giving Himself a ransom for His people, "the Saviour of all men, especially of them that believe." The literary and refined loved to hear him; the unlettered loved

to attend upon his ministry, because he set forth salvation by grace with deep feeling in sweet words, and by impressive action. He preached his farewell sermon in New York the very day of the first battle of Manassas, and at the very hour the fight was raging; and retired from his charge as co-pastor to hear the result of that great battle which opened the war. Forbidden a return by the sea-board, he conducted his family a circuit round by the Ohio and through the State of Tennessee, and reached his beloved Virginia in safety, and took his abode in Charlottesville. From that place, early in the fall of 1863, he became pastor of the Tabb Street church in Petersburg. His ministry was appreciated by all classes. There was a simplicity in his glowing thoughts and beautiful figures and grand truths, and an earnestness in his manner and a sweetness in his clear pervading voice and distinct utterance, that charmed the galleries and impressed the lower floor of his capacious audience room. The citizens came in, the soldiers came in, the negroes came in. All said he knew how to preach to them. He himself panted for higher excellence; for a nearer approach to the simplicity and directness of his Lord and Master. A short time before his death he revealed to one in whom his confidence was unbounded his plans and earnest desires for more simplicity and efficiency in preaching. He thought he saw the way. Just then, after a short pastorate of about ten months, while the shells of the invaders were piercing his church building and rendering the parsonage untena-

ble, His Master called for him. This unexpected call he answered joyfully; girded his loins and went forth to meet Him with a song of praise. He lived to preach; he died to meet his Saviour.

While residing in Charlottesville, he frequently visited the camps, when the bustle of war was a little hushed, and preached to the soldiers the unsearchable riches of Christ. The brave men loved to hear him; just from the confusion and carnage of the battle field, they listened to the calls of mercy as he uttered them so persuasively. There was a frankness in the open countenance and tone of honest earnestness in his voice, and a weight in the truthful subjects set forth, that all ranks of the army hung upon his lips. Knowing the terrors of the Lord, he persuaded men. In Petersburg he was not called to go to the camp of the soldiers, they sought proper opportunities of coming to his church. The enquiry often was in what is the charm of his preaching. There was no parade of logic or metaphysics; there were no startling displays of rhetoric; no unusual vehemence; no appeal to the passions of men; no affectation of learning. And yet from the child to the old man all loved to hear him; and what is more they bore away a remembrance in their heart. They had heard a weighty truth of God's grace announced as the text; it seemed to unfold itself as the preacher went on; there seemed to be no difficulty in it; the preacher appeared in deep earnest, as one believing that he was speaking most important things, and the audience grew earnest

with him ; his words were so plain and easy to be understood, they all had a meaning, that all, even the weakest, got the idea intended, with some degree of clearness. Like the Anglo-Saxon of his little volume so much admired in England, they were pellucid : the kind affections were addressed, the tender sympathies moved by truths and statements that cherished while they moved : the figures, the graphic scenes were natural, and over all and in all was a truthful simplicity ; the impression on the minds of multitudes was, that is the way to preach to us ; it is so easy to hear you, to understand you ; we can't avoid feeling what you say ; we shall remember it ; we will come again. Is it not easy to preach so ? Ah, yes, when one is baptized into it by the Spirit of his Lord.

The question was often asked : Can he continue to preach so ? and if he can, will people listen ? The answer is : while he lived he continued to preach so, only better ; and people listened only the more devoutly. And his people grew in knowledge and in Christian temper and practice. His subjects were always weighty, and a man must live long and preach much to exhaust the weighty subjects of the Bible ; the arrangement of his discourses as well ordered, and all people are ever pleased with a lucid arrangement ; his announcement of doctrines, truths, principles and duties was clear and accurate, things always pleasing and to every hearer. And with these preparations he approached the judgment, the conscience and the heart through the kind affections hushing the

strong passions ; and the time will never come that this avenue shall be closed against the Gospel, till sun and moon shall be no more.

P. S. The preceding memoranda will show how large is the number of Huguenot descent, intermingled with and forming a part of the population of Virginia.



## CHAPTER XXI.

## Emigration to South Carolina.

THE permanent colonization of South Carolina was accomplished by a company of emigrants sent out by the proprietors in 1670, under the command of William Sayle, to form a settlement to be called the county of Carteret. The company landed on the island of Port Royal, but in a short time removed to the banks of the Ashley river. In 1671 it was called Charlestown. In 1680 the colony removed to Oyster Point, at the confluence of the Cooper and Ashley, and called the place *New Charlestown*. In 1682, the place was called *New Charleston*. In the distribution of lots, three Frenchmen, Richard Batin, Jacques Jours and Richard Doyas were put in possession of freeholders' rights and placed on an equality with the English settlers. These Frenchmen were emigrants to England at a time when none but Huguenots sought that country. In the year 1677, Jean Bullon, 1678, Jean Bazant and Richard Gaillard, and in 1683, Maria Batton wife of Jean Batton, received similar privileges. In the year 1680, the *Richmond*, an English frigate, by the express command of Charles II., brought forty-five refugees, the King himself paying the expenses of their pas-

sage. A larger number soon followed in another vessel.

The revolution of 1688 gave new facilities to the refugees, who sought for a home in America; and those provinces that had already welcomed the strangers suffering for their religion, naturally attracted the succeeding emigrants. The greater part of the Huguenots went directly or indirectly to South Carolina; the warm climate invited the exiles from Languedoc, and flocking from all quarters, the Palmetto State became the "home of the Huguenot." One of these refugees that came by way of England, a young woman, says: "We quitted our home in the night, leaving the soldiers in their beds, and abandoning to them our house and all it contained. Well knowing that we should be sought for in every direction, we remained ten days concealed at Romans in Dauphiny, at the house of a good woman who had no thought of betraying us." So escaping from France, they made a long circuit through the provinces of Germany and Holland and reached England. She goes on to say: "Embarking at London, we suffered every kind of misfortune. The red fever broke out on board the ship; many of us died of it, and among them our aged mother. We touched at the islands of Bermuda, where the vessel which carried us was seized. We spent all our money there, and it was with great difficulty that we procured a passage on board another ship. New misfortunes awaited us in Carolina. At the end of eighteen months we lost our eldest brother, who succumbed to such unusual fatigue. So that

after our departure from France we suffered all that it was possible for us to suffer. I was six months without tasting bread, working beside like a slave; and during three or four years I never had the wherewithal completely to satisfy the hunger which devoured me. And yet God accomplished great things in our favour, by giving us the strength necessary to support these trials."

One of the generals from South Carolina, that distinguished himself in the war of independence, often said his grandparents were so entirely stripped of their property when they reached the colony on the Santee, that for a time they supported themselves by working together at the whipsaw.

A great many refugees embarked for South Carolina from the ports of Holland. "More than a hundred persons," says an agent of Count Avaux, in 1688, "are buying a frigate, half resolved on going to Carolina. I can assure you that she will contain more than one million two hundred thousand livres." Some days after he writes: "I have spoken to the *Sieur Clide*, a refugee captain in this country, some of whose relations are going in his ship to Carolina. He tells me there will be about four hundred persons resolved to fight well in case of attack, and set fire to the vessel should they be reduced to extremity. Provided that the money be saved, the loss of these persons would be no great one." Again he writes: "The *Messrs. Les Carolins* have bought a hundred and fifty guns and muskets, fifty musquetoons, and thirty

pairs of pistols at Utrecht. These gentleman cannot accommodate themselves with a vessel in this country. There is one carrying fifty cannon chartered for them in England.”

In another letter he says: “ Our ‘ Carolinians ’ of Amsterdam, are about to join themselves to those of Rotterdam, to the number of nearly a hundred and fifty. They have two barks at Rotterdam, in which they are going to England. At Loudon they have many associates who will go with them. The two barks which belong to them, and in which they will make their voyage to England, will serve them also for going to Carolina. They will load them with Malmsey wine and other merchandize in the island of Madeira. The two barks and their ship of from forty-five to fifty guns, which they have chartered in England, will be manned by four hundred well-armed persons. If your vessels were to lie off the coast of the island of Madeira or Lisbon, it would be a great affair.” It does not appear that anything was done by the French government to arrest these armed and determined adventurers; and they were permitted to increase the numbers and strength of the colonists in South Carolina.

Isaac Mazicq, originally from Liege, and long a merchant on the island of Rhé, sought refuge in Amsterdam with the wreck of his fortune, and with fifteen hundred pounds sterling he went to London, and assisting in freighting a ship, sailed for Carolina. Landing at Charleston in December, 1686, he laid the foundation of a commercial house and an immense

fortune, which he knew how to use to the advantage of his adopted country.

In 1687, the lords commissioners of James II., charged with the partition of the funds of the King's bounty, sent with the English colonists to Carolina six hundred Huguenots who had taken refuge in England, and were ready to emigrate to America, in expectation of toleration for their religion, in a colony where the English Church was established by the State. These were for the most part mechanics and labourers and workmen of various classes, impoverished by their exile from France. An outfit of tools to carry on their trades was presented by the commissioners to each mechanic and workman.

The emigration of the Huguenots, first to Holland or England, and then to South Carolina, continued for years, and various colonies were formed. The most populous and richest colony or part of colony was at New Charlestown, or New Charleston, or as now known, Charleston. Entire streets were built by these refugees, and one bears the name of its founder. The first pastor of this colony was Elias Prioleau, whose grandfather was elected doge of Venice in 1618; his father was godson of the Duke of Saubize, and with him became attached to the Duke of Rohan during his sojourn in Italy. The son became pastor of a church of the Reformed in France. Being compelled to leave France, he took with him part of his flock from Saintonge, and made his way to Charleston. His descendants are to be found in the city at the present day. He was esteemed an

eloquent preacher. His descendants are in possession of manuscripts that testify the purity of his doctrines, the elegance of his style and the vigour of his mind.

The next colony was Orange Quarter, upon the eastern bank of the Cooper river. This colony was connected with Charleston. Its public religious worship was in that city. From their residences along the river, the families were conveyed in their boats on Sabbath morning to join with congregations in the city in their solemn services. They formed in fact a part of the church and congregation. Some families from Orange Quarter went up the western branch of the Cooper, and made their home at what is now called Strawberry Ferry. Here they built a church and had for their first pastor Florent Philippe Trouillart. James Dubose, an emigrant from Languedoc, with many of his compatriots made a settlement on the Dockon, which empties into the western branch of the Cooper.

Another colony was formed on the southern bank of the Santee, upon lands given by the lords proprietors. At the close of the seventeenth century, this new colony extended from Wambar's Creek to Lenut Ferry. Towards the south it connected with the French population of Orange Quarter; the principal grant of land in that direction of three hundred and sixty acres, made in 1705 to René Ravenel, Barthélemy Gaillard and Henri Bruneau, was at their discretion to be used as the site of a town, or for agriculture, or commercial and manufacturing establishments. The town built there was called Jamestown, and

at the commencement of the eighteenth century contained a hundred French families. Next to Charleston it was the most flourishing colony of the Huguenots in Carolina. The name of French Santee was given to that part of the country, and put upon the maps of the day. Their first pastor was Pierre Robert, a Swiss by birth. Whether he had been their pastor in France, or had joined them in the course of their emigration, is not known.

In full possession of the rights of conscience, of their persons and their property, under the English authorities, many of these families cherished a strong attachment to the language and habits of their native land. In being emigrants for conscience' sake, they were unwilling to cease to be Frenchmen. Cherishing grateful feelings to the English and their government, they longed for the privilege of forming in America a colony of Huguenots as a dependency of the French crown. They could not readily give up the long cherished hope that their legitimate king should be their legitimate friend, and that their King, rejecting the suicidal advice of those who had led him into cruelty and dishonour in banishing the Huguenots, would one day recall the exiles to their homes and privileges in France; or at least give them a separate existence in his American domains. The treaty signed at Ryswick in the year 1697, gave a short period of peace to Europe. In this temporary pause in the conflict in which Louis XIV. had engaged for his honour, and saw the approach of his disgrace, the vessels of England and France both explored the

lower waters of the Mississippi. Beinville, the governor of Louisiana, ascending that river one day, came up with an English vessel of war engaged in sounding the depth of the stream. On visiting the vessel, an engineer, a Frenchman handed him a paper which he begged him to send to Versailles. It was a memoir signed by four hundred families of French refugees in Carolina, asking permission to settle in Louisiana, on the condition that liberty of conscience might be granted them.

The answer returned by the Count de Pontchartrain, that the King had not driven them from his European states, that they might form a republic in his American dominions, destroyed the fond expectations of the petitioners that the deserts of America would be yielded by their King to exiled Huguenots. They submitted to their lot and assimilated themselves by degrees to the forms and habits forced upon them. They became citizens of South Carolina and subjects of Great Britain. Their numbers were increased and their faith preserved by the emigrations which succeeded at intervals throughout the eighteenth century. In 1733, Jean Pierre Prury of Neufchatel brought with him to Carolina three hundred and seventy families of Italian Swiss, to whom the British Government gave 40,000 acres of land and four pounds sterling to each emigrant; they were received by the French with great joy on account of their community of language and worship. After the conclusion of the treaty of Paris, two hundred and twelve voluntary exiles from France gave strength to South Caro-



lina. They came by the advice of a pastor named Gilbert; leaving France singly and reassembling at Plymouth, and then sailing for Charleston. A new town soon raised itself by the name of New Bordeaux.

On the arrival of the first emigrants from France, the reception was kind, with the exception that the government made a distinction in favour of the Church of England. In 1697 the door was opened for the naturalization of all inhabitants that desired the privilege. From that time the Huguenots became an integral part of South Carolina, and an important element of its wealth, strength, and national glory. But comparatively few families succeeded in bringing much of their wealth with them in their exile. The greater part left Europe in circumstances that ensured temporary poverty and suffering. But all met the trials of their condition with a bold heart and active hand. Some betook themselves to trade; some to mechanical arts; but most to the cultivation of the soil. Slaves were brought in numbers from Africa to Carolina for sale. Possessing themselves of these as they had inclination or ability, the emigrants increased the number of acres in cultivation, chose after trial the productions most agreeable to the soil and climate, and began to live first in plenty, then in comfort, and then in wealth. Increasing in numbers and exerting their capabilities for enterprise, they spread out their populations in the city and their populations along the rich lands on the rivers. Intermingling in society and by intermarriage with the English settlers, the descendants of the Huguenots

exerted a very controlling influence over the literature, manners, morality and public sentiment of the State. An unspeakable loss to France, they were an unmeasured gain to South Carolina. There is no department of honourable life in which the Huguenot descendants have not excelled, and in many have taken the lead. Those who gave themselves to trade in the early stages of emigration and settlement, chose Charleston as the place of abode; and the houses of Laurens, Manigault and Mazieq were among the most active and the richest in the province. Those who chose the mechanic arts, chose the same city to set up manufactories of silk and wool. At New Bordeaux also the same kind of manufactories flourished through the industry of the refugees. The vine, the olive and the mulberry, and the agricultural productions of the south of France accompanied the agriculturists that subdued the soil and enriched the state of South Carolina.

Among the early settlers of Charleston were found the names of Bayard, Bonneau, Benoit, Bocquet, Bacot, Chevalier, Cordé, Chastagnier, Dupré, Delisle, Dubose, Dubois, Dutarque, De La Consilière, Dubordieu, Faysseau, Gaillard, Gendron, Horry, Guignard, Huger, Legaré, Laurens, Lansac, Marion, Mazieq, Manigault, Mallichamp, Neuville, Peronneau, Porcher, Peyré, Ravenel, St. Julien, and Trevezant. The old records and private papers will reveal many more names worthy to be held in remembrance as founders of the State.

The records of the colonies in the country and the

private genealogies will direct others to their ancestry among those who have endured toil and exposure and poverty and exile for conscience' sake, and that they might rear their children free and independent citizens of a free State governed by law.

In France, these Huguenots were a law-loving and law-abiding people. They feared God and honoured their King. They were reared in habits of sobriety and virtue. They may be said to have inherited cultivated manners, so careful were parents to set examples to their children, and form the manner of intercourse in households and in society. Enduring the hardships of a new colony in a foreign land, they preserved the amenities of life. In their distress and in their prosperity, they never forgot that they sprung from the most polished country in the world.

It is said that the agriculture of the French refugees, on the banks of the Santee, surpassed that of the English in the same region, although the English brought considerable fortunes with them; and the French fugitives scarce possessed the necessaries of life. The Huguenots sustained each other; and though unaccustomed to the kind of work, they were stimulated by necessity; and success crowned their efforts. Lawson, an English traveller, says of them, in 1701: "They live like a tribe, like one family. Each makes it a rule to assist his compatriot in his need; and to watch over his fortune and his reputation with the same care as his own. The misfortunes that overtook one of them are partaken of by all; and each one rejoices at the prosperity and elevation

of his brethren." He admired their solidly constructed houses, and the happy management of the households; their cleanliness, and neatness; and the exterior signs of ease exceeding that of the other colonists.

The habits of both mutual and self-respect, of social intercourse and enjoyments, of activity and enterprise, created the wealth, and formed the manners of South Carolina. Frank, urbane, elevated, kind, resolute, energetic, the descendants of colonies, composed of Huguenots, and English, and Scotch-Irish, intermingled and amalgamated, hold an enviable place among the sisterhood of States.

In any of the threatened invasions of Carolina by the Indians, or by the Spaniards, the Huguenots took their full share in the defence, using both their swords and their pens.

When the great struggle between the governing power in England and the colonial interests in America commenced, the Huguenot population of South Carolina resisted the ill-advisers of their adopted King, as their fathers had the ill-advisers of their legitimate King. They made the distinction between law and usurpation. The law and the King they revered; the usurpation and the ministry they renounced and opposed. As their fathers had not failed to hazard all earthly fortunes for freedom of conscience, with safety of life, and limb, and property, their descendants resolved to defend the inheritance in the wilderness, descended from their fathers, and most sweet from their first enjoyment.

To do justice to the men of the revolution of Huguenot descent, in South Carolina, would require a volume. Its pages would be filled with the recital of heroic action and magnanimous suffering. In the history of that revolution, which established the government of law in the United Colonies, a long list of South Carolina Huguenot names must ever hold a commanding place. The acts of the Huguenot women, like those of their mothers in France, are beyond all praise.

The French language, as a medium of business, speedily declined; as a vehicle of social communication it retreated more slowly, and for religious instruction it unwillingly departed. Of necessity it passed away, and the English became the universal language of the population of the State. With their language and their ministry, their forms of religion suffered a decline, while their principles of action retained their ascendancy. Intermingled with the English and Scotch-Irish, and using a common language, and having a common interest, the descendants of the Huguenots began to be found united with them in the worship of God, in various denominations. The tone of their religious principles and practice, however, is in accordance with the ancient Reformed of France. In many neighbourhoods the Confession of Faith is maintained in the purity of the Church in France in her best days. In others the teachings of her great interpreter have been modified in accordance with the judgment and conscience of others, who are united with them in public worship, and the

duties and labours of life. But immorality and infidelity do not flourish in South Carolina among the descendants of the Huguenots, whose place is among the liberal, the large-hearted, the devout and earnest people of God, by whatever name they are called.

In political and literary life, they are among the foremost to think, and devise, and persuade, and accomplish. The literature and political history of the State open their pages to reveal to mankind and to posterity the talents, and acquirements, and moral worth, and public spirit, and domestic virtues, of these people, whose ancestors were hunted out of France, as a weak-minded, rebellious people, by a lascivious, bigoted, tyrannical King, and a persecuting, fanatical priesthood. In their madness, the court and clergy of France gave to the nations of Europe and America the secret springs of their prosperity.

As time passes on there came outbreakings of irresistible force and bewildering attraction, of the spirit of the people that stood up firmly in France for law and constitutional right in civil things, and for conscience in religious matters. The great principles of the master spirit of the theology of the Huguenots, the fore-knowledge of God, His eternal Providence, and long-kindness, abounding to sinful man through Christ the Son, and the special agency of the Holy Spirit, are breathed out in burning words in the pulpit, where they worship and elevate the devotions at the domestic altar. And men and women devote their children and their wealth to the cause of the Redeemer. And when argument, and memorial, and

remonstrance fail to check encroachments on civil rights, the sword is drawn, with an appeal to the God of battles; and men march, and women cheer them on to pour out their blood in defence of their homes and their national rights.

The materials, out of which the plans and doings of the Huguenots in South Carolina could be compiled would involve the materials, in a great degree, to write the history of the State, and would make a volume of the richest interest.

# APPENDIX.

## THE CONFESSION OF FAITH

*Held and professed by the Reformed Churches of France, received and enacted by their First National Synod, celebrated in the city of Paris, and year of our Lord, 1559.*

### ARTICLE I.—GOD.

We believe and confess that there is but one God only, whose Being only is simple, spiritual, eternal, invisible, immutable, infinite, incomprehensible, ineffable, who can do all things, who is all wise, all good, most just, and most merciful.

### ARTICLE II.—REVELATION.

This one God hath revealed Himself to be such a one unto men, First, in the creation, preservation, and governing of His works; secondly, far more plainly in His word, which from the beginning He revealed to the fathers by certain visions and oracles, and then caused it to be put in writing in those books which we call the Holy Scriptures.

### ARTICLE III.—THE BIBLE.

All this Holy Scripture is contained in the canonical books of the Old and New Testament. (Here follow the names of the thirty-nine books of the Old Testament and  
(605)



the twenty-seven of the New Testament received by Protestant Churches.)

ARTICLE IV.—RULE OF FAITH.

We acknowledge these books to be canonical; that is, we account them as the most certain rule of our faith, and that not so much because of the consent of the Church, but because of the testimony and persuasion of the Holy Ghost, by which we are taught to distinguish betwixt them and other ecclesiastical books, upon which, although they may be useful, yet we cannot ground any article of faith.

ARTICLE V.—THE AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE.

We believe that the doctrine contained in these books proceeded from God, from whom only and not from man it deriveth its authority. And for as much as it is the rule of all truth, containing all matters necessarily required for the worship of God and our salvation, it is no wise lawful for men or angels to add unto or to take from this doctrine or to change it. And here upon it followeth that it is not lawful to oppose either antiquity or custom or multitude, or human wisdom, judgments, edicts, or any decrees or councils or visions or miracles unto this Holy Scripture: but rather that all things ought to be examined and tried by the rule and square thereof. Wherefore we do for this cause also allow of those three creeds, namely, the Apostles', the Nicene, and Athanasian' because they be agreeable to the word of God.

ARTICLE VI.—THE TRINITY.

The Holy Scripture teaches us that in that one and simple divine Being, there be three persons subsisting,

the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Father, to wit, the first cause in order, and the beginning of all things: the Son, His wisdom and everlasting Word; the Holy Ghost, His virtue, power and efficacy; the Son begotten of the Father from everlasting, the Holy Ghost from everlasting proceeding from the Father and the Son; these three persons are not confounded but distinct, and yet not divided, but of one and the same essence, eternity, power and equality. And to conclude in this mystery, we allow of that which those four ancient councils have determined, and we detest all sects and heresies condemned by those holy ancient doctors, Athanasius, Hilary, Cyril and Augustine.

ARTICLE VII.—THE CREATION. WORK OF GOD.

We believe that God in three persons, working together by His power, wisdom, and incomprehensible goodness, hath made all things, not only heaven and earth, and all things in them contained, but also the invisible spirits, of which some fell headlong into destruction, and some continued in obedience. That the fallen angels being corrupted by their malice, are become enemies of all good, and consequently of the whole Church. That the holy angels having persevered by the grace of God, are ministers to glorify His name, and serve His elect in order to salvation.

ARTICLE VIII.—GOVERNMENT OF GOD.

We believe that God hath not only made all things, but also ruleth and governeth them, as He who according to His will disposeth and ordaineth whatsoever cometh to pass in the world. Yet we deny that He is the author of sin, or that the blame of things done amiss can be laid

upon Him, seeing His will is the sovereign and infallible rule of all righteousness and equity: but this we confess that He hath those admirable means as whereby He maketh the devils and the ungodly, as his instruments to serve Him and to turn the evil which they do and whereof they are guilty into good. So that when we acknowledge that nothing can be done without the providence of God, we do most humbly adore His secrets, which He hath hidden from us, nor do we enquire into those which are above our reach and capacity. Nay, rather we apply unto our own use that which the Holy Scripture teacheth us for our peace and comfort, to wit: that God, to whom all things are subject, doth watch over us with a fatherly care, so that not so much as as an hair of our head falleth to the ground without His will, and that He hath the devils and all our adversaries fast bound in chains, that they cannot without leave first given them do us any harm.

ARTICLE IX.—FALL OF MAN.

We believe that man being created pure and upright and conformable to the image of God, through his own fault fell from that grace which he had received, and thereby did so estrange himself from God, the fountain of all righteousness and of all good things, that his nature is become altogether defiled, and being blind in his understanding and corrupt in his heart, he hath utterly lost that integrity; and although he can somewhat discern between good and evil, yet we do affirm that whatsoever light he hath, it straightway becometh darkness, when the question is of seeking after God; so that by his understanding and reason he can never come to God. And although he be indued with will, whereby he is moved

to do this or that, yet forasmuch as that also is in bondage to sin, that he hath no freedom to desire that which is good ; but if he have any 'tis the gracious gift of God.

## ARTICLE X.—ORIGINAL SIN.

We believe that all the offspring of Adam are infected with the contagion of original sin, which is ever hereditary to us by propagation, and not by imitation, as the Pelagians asserted, whose errors are detested by us. Nor do we think it necessary to enquire how this sin cometh to be derived from one unto another : for it is sufficient that those things which God gave to Adam were not given to him alone, but to all his posterity : and, therefore, we in his person being deprived of those good gifts are fallen into this poverty and malediction.

## ARTICLE XI.—INFLUENCE OF ORIGINAL SIN.

We believe that this stain of original sin, is sin indeed; for it hath that mischievous power in it as to condemn all mankind, even infants that are unborn, as yet in their mother's womb, and God Himself doth account it such ; yea, and that even after baptism, as to the filth thereof, it is always sin. Howbeit, they who are the children of God shall never be condemned for it, because that God of His rich grace and sovereign mercy, doth not impute it to them. Moreover we say, that it is such a depravedness as doth continually produce the fruits of malice and rebellion against God ; so that even the choicest of God's servants, although they do resist it, yet are they defiled with very many infirmities and offences, so long as they remain in this world.

## ARTICLE XII.

We believe that out of this general corruption and condemnation, in which all men are plunged, God doth deliver them, whom He hath in His eternal and unchangeable counsel chosen of His mere goodness and mercy, through our Lord Jesus Christ, without any consideration of their works, leaving the rest in their sins and damnable estate, that He may shew forth in them His justice, as in the elect He doth most illustriously declare the riches of His mercy, for one is not better than another, till such time as God doth make the difference, according to His unchangeable purpose, which He hath determined in Jesus Christ, before the creation of the world; nor can any one by his own power, preserve unto himself so great a blessing; because we cannot by nature nor of ourselves, excite in ourselves any one good motive, thought, or affection, till such time as God does present and incline us to it by His grace.

## ARTICLE XIII.

We believe that whatsoever is requisite to our salvation is offered and communicated to us now, in the Lord Jesus Christ, who is made of God unto us Wisdom, Righteousness, Sanctification and Redemption; so that whosoever leaveth Christ, doth renounce all interest in, and title to the mercy of God the Father, to which as to our only sanctuary, we are bound to have recourse.

## ARTICLE XIV.—DIVINITY OF CHRIST.

We believe that Jesus Christ, being the wisdom, and eternal son of the Father, took upon Him our nature, so

that He is one person, God and man ; man that He might be able to suffer both in mind and body, made like unto us in all things, sin only excepted ; so that as to His human nature, He was in truth the very seed of Abraham and David, conceived in due time in the womb of the most blessed Virgin, by the secret and incomprehensible power of the Holy God. And therefore we detest as contrary to that truth, all those heresies with which the churches were troubled in times past, and particularly we detest those diabolical imaginations of Servetus, who ascribed to our Lord Jesus Christ an imaginary deity, whom he asserted to be the idea and pattern of all things, and the counterfeit or figurative Son of God. In short he framed him a body compacted of three elements uncreated, and so did mingle and overthrow his nature.

ARTICLE XV.—THE DISTINCTION AND UNION OF CHRIST'S NATURE.

We believe that in one and the same person, to wit, the Lord Jesus Christ, His two natures are inseparably conjoined and united, yet nevertheless in such manner that each nature doth retain its distinct properties. So that even as in this divine conjunction, the divine nature retaining its properties doth still abide uncreated, infinite and filling all places ; so also the human nature remaineth finite, having its form, measure and property. And also the Lord Jesus Christ when He arose from the dead did give immortality unto His body, yet he never deprived it of the verity of its nature.

ARTICLE XVI.—DEATH OF CHRIST.

We do believe that God by sending His Son into the world, did declare His infinite love and inestimable good-

ness to us; delivering Him over unto death, and raising Him again from the dead, that He might fulfil all righteousness, and purchase everlasting life for us.

ARTICLE XVII.—EFFECTS OF THE DEATH OF CHRIST.

We believe that by that only sacrifice which Jesus Christ offered upon the cross, we are reconciled unto God, that so we may be held and accounted righteous in His sight; because we can never please Him, nor be partakers of His adoption, but so far only as He forgiveth us our sins and burieth them in His grave. Therefore we affirm that Jesus Christ is our entire and perfect washing, and that by His death we obtain full satisfaction whereby we are delivered from all those sins of which we are guilty, and from which we could never be absolved by any other means or remedy.

ARTICLE XVIII.—CHRIST OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS.

We believe that our whole righteousness is founded in the remission of sins, which is as David calleth it our only happiness. Wherefore we do utterly reject all other means by which men do think they may be justified before God, and casting away all concerts of our virtues and merits we do altogether rest upon the sole obedience of Jesus Christ, which is imputed to us, as well for the covering of our offences, so that we may find grace and favour with God. And indeed we believe that should we in the least forsake this foundation, we could not find elsewhere any repose, but must needs be agitated with inquietude in our consciences, because we are never at peace with God, till we be persuaded upon good grounds that we are be-

loved in Jesus Christ. For that in ourselves we have deserved to be hated by Him.

ARTICLE XIX.—CHRIST OUR MEDIATOR.

We believe that by this means we have liberty and privilege of calling upon God, with full confidence that He will shew Himself a father to us, for we have no access to the Father but in and through Christ the Mediator; and that we may be heard in His name, it is meet that we should hold and derive our life from Him as from our head.

ARTICLE XX.—TRUTH SAVES US.

We believe that we are made partakers of this righteousness by faith only; as it is written, He suffered to purchase salvation for us, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish. And this is therefore done because the promises of life offered to us in Him are then applied to our use and made effectual to us when we do accept of them, and in no wise doubt but that we shall enjoy those things which the Lord by His own mouth hath assured us of. So that the righteousness which we obtain by faith dependeth upon the free gracious promises of God, by which God doth declare and testify unto us that we are beloved of Him.

ARTICLE XXI.—FAITH OUR ABIDING GRACE.

We do believe that by the secret grace of the Holy Ghost, the light of faith is kindled up in us, so that it is a gracious and special gift, which God disposeth upon



whom He pleaseth ; and the faithful have nothing whereof they may boast, because they are doubly obliged unto God for having preferred them before others, and for that He never gave faith unto the elect once only to bring them into the good way, but also to cause them to continue in it unto the end. For as God doth begin faith, so also doth He also finish and perfect it.

ARTICLE XXII.—THE EFFECT OF FAITH.

We believe that by this faith we are regenerated unto newness of life, we being naturally imbondaged under sin. And we do by faith receive that faith to live holily and in the fear of God in our receiving the promise which is given us through the Gospel, to wit : that God will give us His Holy Spirit. So that faith is so far from freezing our affections unto godliness and holy living, that contrariwise it doth engender and exercise it in us, necessarily producing all manner of good works. Finally, although God, to accomplish our salvation, doth regenerate and reform us, that we may do those things which are well pleasing, yet notwithstanding we do confess, that the good works we do by His Spirit, are never accounted unto us for righteousness, nor can we merit by them that God should take us for His children, because we should be always tossed with doubts and disquiets, if our consciences did not repose themselves upon that satisfaction, by which Jesus Christ hath purchased us for Himself.

ARTICLE XXIII.—THE RISE OF THE LAW.

We believe that all the types of the law ended when as Christ came in the flesh. But although the ceremonies are no longer in use, yet nevertheless the substance and

truth of them abideth always in His person, who fulfilled them. Moreover, we must be holpen by the law and the prophets for the right ordering of our lives, and that the promises of the Gospel may be confirmed to us.

ARTICLE XXIV.—CHRIST OUR SOLE ADVOCATE

We believe that forasmuch as Jesus Christ is conferred upon us to be our alone Advocate, and that He commandeth us even in our private prayers to present ourselves before the Father in His name; and that it is in no wise lawful for us to call upon God in any other way than He hath taught us by His word; that therefore all those imaginations of men about the intercession of saints departed is none other than an abuse and importune of Satan whereby he may turn men aside from the right method of prayer. We do also reject those means which men presumed they had whereby they might be redeemed before God; for they derogate from the satisfaction of the death and passion of Jesus Christ. Finally we hold purgatory to be none other than a cheat, which came out of the same shop, from which also proceeded monastical vows, pilgrimages, prohibitions of marriage, and the use of meats, a ceremonious observation of days, auricular confession, indulgences, and all other such like matters, by which grace and salvation may be supposed to be deserved. Which things we reject, not only for the false opinions of merit which was affixed to them, but also because they are the inventions of men, and are a yoke laid by their sole authority upon conscience.

ARTICLE XV.—PASTORS NECESSARY TO THE CHURCH.

And forasmuch as we are not made partakers of Christ but by the Gospel, we believe that the good order in the

Church, which was established by His authority, ought to be kept sacred and inviolable; and therefore that the Church cannot subsist unless there be pastors, whose office is to instruct their flocks, and who having been duly called and discharging their office faithfully, are to be honoured and heard with reverence. Not as if God were tied to such ordinances or inferior means, but because it is His good pleasure in this sort to govern us. So that for these reasons we detest all those fanatical persons who as much as in them lieth would totally abolish the preaching of the word, and the administration of the sacraments.

ARTICLE XXVI.—PUBLIC WORSHIP TO BE MAINTAINED.

Therefore we believe that it is not lawful for a man to withdraw himself from the congregation of God's saints, and to content himself with his private devotions, but all of us jointly are bound and maintain the unity of the Church, submitting themselves unto the common instruction and to the yoke of Jesus Christ, and this is all plain wheresoever he shall have established the true discipline, although the edicts of earthly magistrates be contrary thereunto, and whosoever do separate from this order, do resist the ordinance of God, and in case they draw others aside with them, they do act very perversely and are to be accounted as mortal plagues.

ARTICLE XXVII.—THE CHURCH DEFINED.

However we do believe that we ought to distinguish carefully and prudently betwixt the true and false Church, because the word Church is very much abused. We say then, according to the word of God, that the Church is an assembly of believers who agree among themselves to

follow God's word, and the pure religion which dependeth upon it, and who profit by it during their whole life, increasing and confirming themselves in the fear of God, as being persons who daily need a farther progress and advancement in holiness. Yet notwithstanding all their endeavours, they must have recourse to the grace of God for the forgiveness of their sins. Nor do we deny but that among the faithful there be some hypocrites or despisers of God or ill livers; whose wickedness cannot blot out the name of the Church.

## ARTICLE XXVIII.—OBJECTIONS TO THE POPYRY.

In this belief we protest that when the word of God is not received, and when there is no professed subjection to it, and where there is no use of the sacraments, if we will speak properly, we cannot judge that there is any Church. Wherefore we condemn those assemblies in the papacy, because the pure word of God is banished out of them, and for that in them the sacraments are corrupted, counterfeited, falsified or utterly abolished, and for that among them, all kinds of superstitions and idolatries are in full vogue. We hold thus that all those who meddle with such actions, and communicate with them, do separate and cut themselves off from the body of Christ Jesus. Yet nevertheless, because there is yet some small track of a Church in the papacy, and that baptism as it is in the substance, hath been still continued, and because the efficacy of baptism doth not depend upon him who doth administer it, we confess that they which are thus baptized do not need a second baptism. In the meanwhile, because of those corruptions which are mingled with the administration of that sacrament, no man can present his children to be baptized in that Church without polluting his conscience.

## ARTICLE XXIX.—OFFICERS OF THE CHURCH.

We believe that this true Church ought to be governed by that discipline which our Lord Jesus hath established, so that there should be in the Church, pastors, elders, and deacons, that the pure doctrine may have its course, and vices be reformed and suppressed, that the poor and other afflicted persons may be succoured in their necessities, and that in the name of God there may be holy assemblies in which both great and small may be edified.

## ARTICLE XXX.

We believe that all true pastors in whatever places they may be disposed, have all the same authority, and equal power among themselves under Jesus Christ the only head, the only Sovereign and only universal Bishop; and that therefore it is unlawful for any Church to challenge unto itself dominion or sovereignty over another, however it is requisite that all care should be taken for the keeping up of mutual concord and brotherly love.

## ARTICLE XXXI.—OFFICERS TO BE ELECTED.

We believe that it is not lawful for any man of his own authority to take upon himself the government of the Church, but that every one ought to be admitted thereunto by a lawful election, if it may possibly be done, and that the Lord do so permit it. Which exception we have expressly added, because that sometime, (as it hath fallen out in our days,) the state of the Church being interrupted, God hath raised up some persons in an extraordinary manner, for to repair the ruins of the decayed Church. But let it be what it will, we believe that this rule is

always to be followed, that all pastors, elders and deacons should have a testimony of their being called to their respective offices.

## ARTICLE XXXII.—CHURCH RULES.

We believe that it is expedient, that they who be chosen superintendents in the Church, should wisely consult among themselves, by what means the whole body may be conveniently ruled, yet so as that they do not swerve from that which our Lord Jesus Christ hath instituted. And this doth not hinder, but that in some churches there may be those particular constitutions, which will be more convenient for them than for others.

## ARTICLE XXXIII.—EXCOMMUNICATION.

But we exclude all human inventions and all those laws which are introduced to bind the conscience under pretence of God's service. And we do only reserve such as serve to keep up concord, and retain every one, from the highest unto the lowest, in due obedience. In which we conceive that we are to observe that which our Lord Jesus Christ appointed concerning excommunications, which we do very well approve, and acknowledge the necessity thereof, and of its appendages.

## ARTICLE XXXIV.—USE OF THE SACRAMENTS.

We believe that the sacraments are adjoined unto the word for its more ample confirmation, to wit: that they may be pledges and tokens of the grace of God, and that by these means our faith, which is very weak and ignorant, may be supported and comforted; for we confess

that these outward signs be such, that God by the power of His Holy Spirit doth work by them, that nothing may be there represented to us in vain. Yet nevertheless, we hold that all their substance and virtue is in Jesus Christ, from whom if they be separated, they be nothing more than shadows and smoke.

## ARTICLE XXXV.—BAPTISM.

We acknowledge that there be two sacraments only, which are common to the whole Church; whereof baptism is the first, which is administered to us to testify our adoption, because by it we are ingrafted into the body of Christ, that we may be washed and cleansed by His blood and afterwards renewed in holiness of life by His Spirit. We hold also, that although we be baptized once, yet the benefits which signified to us therein, do extend themselves during the whole course of our life even unto death; so that we have a lasting signature with us, that Jesus Christ will always be our righteousness and sanctification. And although baptism be a sacrament of faith and repentance, yet forasmuch as God doth, together with the parents, account their children and posterity to be Church members, we affirm, that infants born of believing parents, are by the authority of Christ to be baptized.

## ARTICLE XXXVI.

We affirm that the holy supper of our Lord, to wit, the other sacrament, is a witness to us of our union with the Lord Jesus Christ; because that He not only died for us, but also He doth indeed feed us and nourish us with His flesh and blood, that we may be made one with Him and may have our life in common with Him, and although

He be now in heaven, and shall remain there till He come to judge the world; yet we believe that by the secret and incomprehensible virtue of His Spirit, He doth nourish and quicken us with the substance of His body and blood. But we say that this is done in a spiritual manner; nor do we hereby substitute in the place of effect and truth, an idle fancy or conceit of our own, but rather because this mystery of our union with Christ is so high a thing, that it surmounteth all our senses, yea, and the whole order of nature, and in short, because it is celestial, therefore it cannot be apprehended but by faith.

ARTICLE XXXVII.—LORD'S SUPPER.

We believe, as was said before, that both in baptism and the Lord's supper, God doth indeed truly and effectually give whatsoever He doth sacramentally exhibit; and therefore we enjoin with the signs the true possession and enjoyment of what is offered to us in them. Therefore we affirm, that they which do bring pure faith, as a clean vessel unto the holy supper of the Lord, they do indeed receive that which the signs do there witness, that is, that the body and blood of Jesus Christ, are no less meat and drink of the soul than bread and wine are the meat of the body.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.

We say therefore, that let the element of water be never so despicable, yet notwithstanding it doth truly witness unto us the inward washing of our souls with the blood of Jesus Christ, by the virtue and efficacy of His Spirit, and that the bread and wine being given us in the Lord's supper, do serve in very deed unto our spiritual nourish-



ment, because they do as it were point out unto us with the finger, that the flesh of Jesus Christ is our meat, and His blood our drink. And we reject those fanatics who will not receive such signs and marks, although Jesus Christ doth speak plainly, *This is My body, and this cup is My blood.*

ARTICLE XXXIX.—AUTHORITY OF MAGISTRATES.

We believe that God will have the world to be ruled by laws and civil government, that there may be some sort of bridles by which the unruly lusts of the world may be restrained; and that therefore He appointed kingdoms, commonwealths and other kind of principalities, whether hereditary or otherwise, and not that alone, but also whatever pertaineth to the ministration of justice, whereof He avoucheth Himself the author; and therefore hath He even delivered the sword into the magistrates' hand, that so sins committed against both the tables of God's law, not only against the second but the first also, may be suppressed. And therefore because God is the author of this order, we must not only suffer magistrates, whom He hath set over us, but we must give them all honour and reverence as unto His officers and lieutenants which have received their commissions from Him to exercise so lawful and sacred a function.

ARTICLE XL.—OBEDIENCE TO MAGISTRATES.

Therefore we affirm that obedience must be yielded unto their laws and statutes, that tribute must be paid them, taxes and all other duties, and that we must bear the yoke of subjection with a free and willing mind, although the magistrates be infidels; so that the sovereign government of God may be preserved entire. Wherefore we detest

all those who do reject the higher powers, and would bring in a community and confusion of goods, and subvert the course of justice.

De Chandieu proposed the preceding form of doctrine to the National Synod. Mr. Calvin had been consulted in its preparation. How far Chandieu used the thoughts of Calvin, whether in whole or in part does not appear.

## THE DISCIPLINE OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES OF FRANCE, 1559.

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The Articles were few and expressed in general terms. They were afterwards made more definite to prevent misapprehension and to maintain unity of action. The principles were never changed; the application to given cases was particularly agreed upon, and the interpretation of the more abstruse parts fixed.

These Articles preceded in point of time those of the Reformed Churches in Holland and Scotland, and were in some measure their model; and agree with them in their general spirit and very generally in their particular application.

There was some difference as which will be here noticed.

They admitted three orders of officers in the Church—pastors, elders and deacons. Every person in each of these offices was of equal authority with every other one of the same class. The pastor was to be carefully prepared for his work; and as a general rule was forbidden to be exercising himself in any other calling than that of his peculiar office. Respecting the offices of elders and deacons, the Articles declared that “The office is not perpetual; yet because changes are not incommodious, they shall be exhorted to continue in their offices as long as they can, and they shall not lay them down without having obtained leave from their churches,” (chap. 3: canon 7.)

The deacons might be invited to perform the duties of elders and form part of the consistory, (chap. 4: canon 2.)

Appeals were not to be carried beyond the Provincial Synods except in cases affecting the standing of pastors, elders and deacons, or the removal of pastors from one province to another, or changing the connexion of the Colloquies, or some question respecting the Sacraments, or Rules of Discipline, or Confession of Faith. There were sixteen Provincial Synods, (chap.8: canon 9.)

For the convenience of the ministers and elders it was determined that the National Synod should be composed of two ministers and two elders from each Provincial Synod, to be chosen with respect to their experience in the affairs of the Church, (chap.9: canon 3.)

In assemblies for worship all persons were required to uncover the head and bow the knee in time of prayer. The head was also to be uncovered during the singing before and after sermon, and during the celebration of the sacraments, (chap. 10: canon 3.)

Respecting baptism, (chapter 11, canon 7) it is declared :  
“ Forasmuch as we have no commandment from the Lord to take godfathers or godmothers, who may present our children unto baptism, there cannot be any particular canon made which shall bind persons to do it. But sith it is a very ancient custom, and introduced for a good end, to wit: to testify the sureties of faith, and the baptism of the infant, and also for that they charge themselves with the care of educating the child, in case it should be deprived of its parents by death; and for that it doth maintain a sweet communion among the faithful by a conjunction of friendship. They who will not observe it, but will themselves present their own children, shall be carefully entreated not to be contentious, but to conform

unto the ancient and accustomed order, it being very good and profitable.”

By canon 12. “Pastors shall diligently exhort all god-fathers and godmothers to consider their promises made at the celebration of baptism, and parents are to choose such sureties for their children as are well instructed in religion and of a godly life and conversation, and that are as much as may be of their acquaintance, and by by whose means, if there should be a necessity for it in the course of God’s providence, it is most likely that their children will have a religious education.”

By canon 15, chapter 14: “Fathers and mothers shall be exhorted to be very careful of their children’s education, which are the seed-plot and promising hopes of God’s Church. And therefore such as send them to school to be taught by priests, monks, Jesuits and nuns, they shall be prosecuted with all Church censures.”

## THE CONFESSION OF SIN.

FROM THE OLD FRENCH BIBLE AT DR. J. HENRY VENABLE'S.

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Mes freres, qu'un chacun de vous se presente devant la face du Siegneur avec confession de ses fautes et pechez, suivant de son coeur, mes paroles.

Seigneur Dieu, Pere Eternel et tant-puissant, nous confessons et reconnaissons sans feintise devant ta Sainete Majeste que nous sommes poores pecheurs, conceus et nis en iniquité et corruption, inclins à mal faire, inutiles a tout bien ; et que de nostre vice, nous transgressons sans fin et sans cesse tes saintes commandmens, en quoi faisant nous acquerons par ton juste jugement, ruine et perdition sur nous. Toutes-fois, Seigneur, nous avons despaisir en nous memes, de t'avoir offensé, et condamnons nous et nos vices, avec vraye repentance, desirons que ta grace subviene à nostre calamité. Veille donques avoit pitié de nous, Dieu et Pere tres benin et plein de misericorde, au nom de ton fils Jesus Christ nostre Seigneur : et en effoçant nos vices et macules, essargi nous et augmente de jour en jour les graces de ton S. Esprit, afin que reconnaisans de tout nostre coeur nostre injustice, nous soyons touchez de desplaisir, qui engendre droite penitece en nous ; laquelle nos mortifiant a tous pechez, produise fruiets de justice innocece, qui soyent agreable par icelui Jesus nostre Seigneur.











